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BRITISH TRAVELLERS IN HOLLAND DURING THE STUART PERIOD

*Edward Browne and John Locke
as Tourists in the United Provinces*

BY

C.D. VAN STRIEN



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PREFACE

In order to find out what British travellers wrote about their stay in the United Provinces during the Stuart Period we have tried to trace as many documents as possible. We concentrated our search on travel journals and travel correspondence, but individual letters written by British travellers in Holland have also been included together with private diaries and memoirs. Information was provided by bibliographies on travel literature: Cox, Coffin, Beckmann, Boucher de la Richarderie, Jacobsen Jensen and Taylor as well as by many books and articles on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel. More general bibliographies by Crane, Davies and Mullins also proved very useful, together with the studies of diaries and related documents by Matthews, Stauffer, Delany, Fothergill and (to a lesser degree) those by Fyfe and Ponsonby. Much additional manuscript material came to light during a careful check of the catalogues of the British Library, the Bodleian Library and the Royal Libraries at The Hague and Brussels. Finally the libraries and archives listed in *Record Repositories* in Great Britain together with a number of important research libraries in the USA were asked about their holdings relative to travel in Holland before 1800, which again considerably added to the number of manuscripts. Thus material concerning the journeys of about 200 persons was collected, among which about 80 travel journals and collections of letters, most of which have been made use of.

It would have been impossible to finish this book without the moral and material support of Prof. Dr. A.Th. van Deursen of the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam and Prof. Dr. D. Baker-Smith of the Universiteit van Amsterdam. Others whose assistance has been much appreciated are the staff of the University Library in Leiden, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague and numerous correspondents, mainly archivists and librarians in Great Britain and elsewhere. Mr. Hugh Macandrew, Keeper of prints and drawings of the National Galleries of Scotland identified John Talman's handwriting. W.A. Kelly M.A. of the National Library of Scotland made available his transcripts of the correspondence of Alexander Cunningham and Lord George Douglas. Special acknowledgements are due to the British

Library, the Bodleian Library, the Kent Archives Office, Maidstone, and the Duke of Queensberry for permission to reprint passages from Edward Browne's journal and letters, passages from John Locke's journals, the financial accounts of the Earl of Orrery's stay in Holland and the correspondence of Alexander Cunningham and Lord George Douglas. For permission to reproduce drawings and prints from their collections I am indebted to the University Libraries of Leiden and Utrecht, the Royal Library and the municipal archives of The Hague, the British Architectural Library / RIBA and the Courtauld Institute Galleries in London and to Mrs Zélie Harvey (for the sketches from John Talman's journal).

The contacts with members of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute of the University of Leiden were both encouraging and interesting, particularly those with Dr. C.W. Schoneveld and Dr. P.G. Hoftijzer, who read through most of the manuscript in its various stages and provided many helpful suggestions. Others who inspected parts of the manuscript are Prof. Dr. C.L. Heesakkers, Prof. John Lough, Dr. H.A.S. Schankula and Prof. Dr. Ph.H. Breuker. I am very grateful to Jane Zaat for correcting my English. Last but not least I wish to express my thanks to my wife, M.M.G. van Strien-Chardonneau, whose studies on French tourists in Holland in the second half of the eighteenth century inspired me to embark on this project.

Publication of this book has been made possible by grants from Hendrik Muller's Vaderlandsch Fonds and the Dr. C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute Stichting.

Since the book first appeared as a Ph.D. thesis at the Vrije Universiteit (Amsterdam, 1989) several new journals have come to my notice, which has resulted in a fairly large number of additions. The author would very much appreciate to be informed by readers about journals that have not yet been traced by him.

In the numerous quotations from British travellers, the spelling and punctuation have been modernized.

In the seventeenth century the value of a pound sterling fluctuated between 9½ and 11 guilders. Guilders are divided into twenty stuivers. A detailed list of Dutch coins can be found at the end of Appendix II.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SURVEY OF STUDIES ON TRAVEL

The present book, which examines what a particular group of tourists wrote about one particular foreign country, does not differ essentially from most other studies on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel in Europe. Among the numerous titles we mention Ascoli (1930) on Frenchmen in Britain; Bertier de Sauvigny (1982) and Chew (1986) on Americans in France. Maxwell (1932), Woodhouse (1976) and Lough (1984) on Britons in France; Robson-Scott (1953) on Germans in Britain; and Harder (1981) on Frenchmen in Italy. Other authors make use of comments by tourists of various nationalities. This happens in Maxwell (1954, travellers in Ireland) and in Schudt's (1959) classic study of travel to Italy. Another frequent approach is for authors to follow travellers of one particular nationality on a long European journey or Grand Tour. This was done for British travellers by Lambert (1935; 1950), Stoye (1952), Trease (1967), Hibbert (1969) and Black (1985) and for their Dutch counterparts by Frank-Van Westrienen (1983). In the majority of these books the emphasis is on the foreign country, not on the tourist. Only in Maxwell we can follow the individual travellers on their various itineraries. In trying to give the reader an impression of what a particular country looked like, most authors opt for a thematic approach, thus dealing with topics such as roads and inns, the sights, local customs, religion and government.

While quoting or summarizing the statements of their tourists on the sights and the inhabitants of the foreign countries, only a small number of the above-mentioned scholars have cared to analyse the documents that provided them with so much interesting information. The travellers are often presented as eyewitnesses who wrote down what interested them and who gave their personal views on all sorts of subjects. Among those who seem to be aware of the travellers' indebtedness to printed sources are Parks (1951) in his study of the educational character of the Grand Tour and Stagl (1980; 83), who, continuing Howard's (1914) approach, gives a very systematic analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publications on the "art of travel",

which guided tourists and provided them with a framework in which they could enter their observations.

Many studies on eighteenth-century travel literature seem to be directly relevant to the study of seventeenth-century travel accounts as well. Batten (1978) pays much attention to borrowings from guide-books in his analysis of the eighteenth-century travel account, which he shows to be a genre containing both systematic description and personal narrative. Stewart (1978) deals with the development of this genre and points out that theorists as late as the end of the eighteenth century looked upon travel accounts primarily as documentary reports intended to instruct, rather than as personal eyewitness accounts written to entertain. However, as is shown by Kalb (1981), the change from scholarly reports to more "literary" products had by that time become an incontrovertible reality. Other points are raised by Teutenberg (1982), who discusses the usefulness of travel accounts as historical sources; by Adams (1962), according to whom some of them are completely unreliable, since a number of eighteenth-century travellers reported on countries they had never seen themselves; and by Halperin (1975), who demonstrates the influence of travellers' religious, social, political and cultural bias.¹

Modern studies on British travel in Europe before 1800 usually follow the pattern set by works published in the first quarter of the present century. Both Bates (1912) and Howard (1914) dealt with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, giving information on the actual conditions of travel and the sights to be seen in the various countries. Bates included a discussion of guidebooks and Howard emphasized the educational aspect. In general, the same points were discussed by Mead (1914), whose subject was the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century. The almost inexhaustible wealth of unpublished material (texts and illustrations) regularly results in new publications on this subject, which continues to interest readers sometimes eager to find out what travelling was like in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the books mentioned above, travel in Holland receives relatively little attention. For Britons, this country was apparently an unimportant and unimpressive stage in the Grand Tour; they did not spend much time in Holland, whose topography occasionally still baffles modern British and American authors. However, several scholars, not exclusively Dutch, have studied the subject in some detail. A bibliography by Jacobsen Jensen (1919-36) gives full information on the remarks of about 400 foreign visitors to Amsterdam before 1850 and

on the routes they took through the United Provinces. Many additional tourists were traced by Wander (1974), who studied travellers' comments on Dutch cleanliness. Murriss (1925) concentrated on French travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whereas Brugmans (1929) quoted tourists of various nationalities (including many from Britain). Later publications (De Vrankrijker, 1942; Zumthor, 1959; Naeff, 1977), drew heavily on these books. German travel accounts on Holland were studied by Schmidt (1963), Bientjes (1967) and Petri (1969), whereas British travellers were dealt with by Stoye (1952), Dunthorne (1982) and Haley (1988). Rowen (1982) followed the American tourists on their journeys through Holland.²

In the following pages we shall first have a look at the various groups of British travellers, the reasons for making their journeys and the political background of Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century. This is followed in chapter 1 by an examination of the accounts in which the tours were recorded: private diaries, memoirs and, most importantly, travel correspondence and journals. We shall go into the reason why they were written and the extent to which they reflect first-hand travel experience. Chapter 2, which deals with the journey from England to Holland and through the United Provinces, gives information on the conditions of travel, accommodation and social contact with the Dutch. Chapter 3 discusses how the tourist spent his day: doing a lot of sightseeing but also some shopping; visiting the theatre or other places of entertainment and touring the countryside. Chapter 4 deals with more general observations made by travellers on themes ranging from the history and government of the country, to religion, laws and customs. After a brief recapitulation and some concluding remarks, we present two annotated travel accounts which enable the reader to experience more directly the realities of seventeenth-century travel and tourism. The first consists of the Dutch section of Edward Browne's journal and the letters he wrote to his father during his journey in 1668. The second was written by John Locke in the summer of 1684. Between them they cover most of the territory of the United Provinces. A third appendix is made up of financial accounts of the Earl of Orrery, who studied at Utrecht in 1686. A list of the inns mentioned by tourists and a chronological list with some biographical information on the travellers precede the bibliography and the index, which together with the analytical table of contents gives readers ready access to the information sought. It has been our aim to quote as much as possible from the travellers them-

selves. References to secondary reading mainly appear in appendices I and II and have been limited to a minimum (e.g. where travellers were wrong or where additional information seemed to be required). For more information on seventeenth-century Holland the reader is referred to the works previously mentioned and to the bibliography, which lists a certain number of books and articles on Anglo-Dutch relations together with more general studies.

THE TRAVELLERS

In the seventeenth century there were many different reasons for Britons to come to Holland. Apart from the soldiers and refugees, who have been the subject of various studies, there were many others who visited Holland for professional reasons, such as diplomats with their suites, and tradesmen, one of whom (a ribband weaver at Haarlem) is mentioned by James Fraser. However, most of these travellers have not been included in this study, since they did not document their journeys very well; some of the exceptions are Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, who came to study fortifications, Ralph Thoresby, who came over as an apprentice and various Quakers whose business it was to preach the gospel. The main purpose of the visits of Hope, Mundy and Bowrey may well have been business, which they combined with sightseeing (as appears from their records) but for the majority of our travellers the principal object of their stay in Holland was the journey itself.³

Travel abroad, which in the sixteenth century was almost exclusively limited to pilgrims, those connected with embassies, and young aristocrats accompanied by their tutors (for whom this was an opportunity to combine work and travel), became much less exclusive in the second half of the seventeenth century. Although few authors looked upon it as dangerous, physically and morally, and advised their readers to travel by the fireside with good books, an increasing number of people, who were later to make themselves useful as country squires, scholars, ministers of religion or members of the professions, discovered the attractions of the foreign tour, the educational aspects of which were not neglected. Travellers had a wide range of interests:

Some delight themselves in contemplation of the curiosities of arts; some are taken with the varieties of the works of nature; others speculate, with a kind of reverence, the decays and ruins of antiquity; others

studiously inform themselves with the transactions of modern times; others with the government and polity; others speculate the strange customs and fashions of the places they pass through; to be short everyone labours to entertain the reader with those objects and rarities of foreign parts his genius and inclination is most affected with.⁴

Advice for travellers was not only provided by relatives or patrons who had travelled themselves, but also by a fairly large number of books in which scholars, some of whom had accompanied young lords on the continent (e.g. Sir Thomas Palmer 1606, James Howell 1642, Thomas Neale 1643, Balthazar Gerbier 1665 and E. Leigh 1671), published their (often traditional) views on the art of travelling. They directed their advice to members of the aristocracy and usually approached the subject from a rather literary and theoretical point of view, providing definitions of the various categories of travel, and arguments (with illustrative examples from history) for or against it. Francis Bacon warned his readers not to become too critical of their own country in developing "a generous contempt of home", while admiring things abroad; and indeed some tourists took care to put their admiration of Holland into perspective. According to John Northleigh the walks round Utrecht were "neither so large nor pleasant" as the Mall in St. James' Park and Philip Skippon assured his readers that the ships lying on the river in front of Amsterdam "hardly exceed[ed] in number those in the Thames about London". Thomas Personson explicitly stated in his preface: "I would not be reckoned one of those fools, who praise and admire all things they see because they are foreign" and he told his readers that he was fully aware that the London Exchange was more beautiful than that of Amsterdam, that Christ's Hospital was much better than "their hospitals and charities" and that perhaps no universities in the world were "more eminent than our two famous universities of Oxford and Cambridge". He concluded his remarks by saying: "perhaps this little island of England is as pleasant, as fruitful and as profitable as any other country." The various treatises on the art of travel also included some practical information: there was advice on how to avoid dangers and how to keep in good health, and much was said about the principal sights abroad, notably in France and Italy (of the authors mentioned above only Howell deals at some length with Holland). Although these books do not tell us how things worked out in reality, they clearly show that for many people a journey on the Continent was thought to be an essential part of their education.⁵

Since travellers on the Grand Tour did not follow a standard itinerary, the visit to Holland did not always take place at the end of the journey, as Howell advised his readers. Lassels told his tourists to make a stop in the Low Countries after the visit to Italy and before going to France, but a fair number of young tourists in fact started their European journey in Holland, studying there with a tutor and learning to speak French. While John Evelyn and Richard Rawlinson, did not stay very long and only registered as students at Leiden for the ceremony, others settled down for a substantial period of study. According to Thomas Molyneux there were "about 18 or 19 English students and as many Scotch" in Leiden and Carr stated that the number of Britons there was "above 80". Sir James Hope met a countryman, who was a professor of philosophy there, and Fraser mentions "one Dr. Jo. Antkins [who] was in good esteem for his learning [...], Doctor Brian Osborn and one Jack Mill, a Scottish chirurgion". Molyneux, who arrived with letters of introduction to several professors, describes the matriculation ceremony:

[The] Rector Magnificus [...] writes your name, age, place where you lodge in the town and generally the country you are of [...] in a book [...] He formally makes you promise to observe the customs of the university and to pay due respect to the professors. Then he gives you a note in Dutch, which is to be sent to the bedell with 12 stivers (no inconsiderable fee here, for it is as much as a physician gets when he visits his patient), who orders that you shall have so much wine or beer excise free.⁶

Although most lectures were given in Latin, British students sometimes found it difficult to get used to "the Latin Dutch pronunciation". Lord Irwin was given special lessons by "a Dutchman to instruct him" in this before he went to Leiden. For three years John Clerk read civil law here, where Robert Sibbald was one of the many Britons to study medicine. Non-conformist students of theology went to the university of Utrecht, where Calamy, judging from the detailed notes in his memoirs, spent three very instructive years. On his arrival, countrymen accompanied him "in visits to the professors and introduced [him] into the usual ways and methods of the place". Among his friends here was Lord Spencer, one of the numerous members of the British aristocracy and gentry who preferred Utrecht to Leiden, since they felt that the air and company there were better. Many of them took private lessons and did not enroll as students of the univer-

sity. The Earl of Orrery, Lord George Douglas, the grandsons of the Duke of Leeds (1706-13), Laurence Hyde and Sir Justinian Isham were among those educated at Utrecht, where the riding academy was more expensive than at Berlin and Wolfenbüttel.⁷

Clearly, the education of a gentleman did not limit itself to reading and writing; it was important to “study men as well as books”, to use the terms of Edmund Verney’s father, or otherwise his son’s “learning [might] make him rather ridiculous than esteemed”. Lord Burghley too informed his son’s tutor: “I mean not to have him scholarly learned but civilly trained.” Sir Thomas Puckering spent more time riding, fencing and dancing than studying Latin and French, and many others, not necessarily belonging to the aristocracy, balanced book learning with other activities. Leake described the programme at Leiden of his pupil, who had registered as a student of law:

He entered upon a course of universal history with the famous Perizonius, which took up the hour from 9 to 10 in the morning five days every week. From 11 to 12 both he and I heard Dr. Boerhaave’s chymie college; from 2 to 3 he was with his French master; the next hour he went to the fencing school and upon his return to his lodging, he found his flute master ready to wait upon him. Besides all this, every Wednesday and Saturday he heard professor Vitriarius read upon Grotius concerning the law of Nature and Nations; and in an evening sometimes he was desired to hear a Scotch gentleman read upon the Constitution and Government of the United Provinces.

John Locke, who made a list of subjects scholars should study abroad, must have been fully conscious of the fact that his travelling countrymen had a full range of activities. All the same he asked them to look into the following matters:

The principal heads by which [travellers must] regulate their observations are these [...], the climate, government, power, places of strength, cities of note, religion, language, coins, trade, manufactures, wealth, bishoprics, universities, antiquities, libraries, collections of rarities, arts and artists, public structures, roads, bridges, woods, mountains, customs, habits, laws, privileges, strange adventures, surprising accidents, rarities both natural and artificial, the soil, plants, animals and whatsoever may be curious, diverting or profitable.⁸

The number of women who travelled abroad remained strictly limited. There were of course those whose husbands worked in Holland, like Lady Carleton or Lady Browne, the wife of the deputy governour of

Flushing, but before 1660 it was very unusual for women to follow their husbands to foreign countries. It was only after the Restoration that things slowly began to change. According to Lady Newcastle, who shared her husband's exile during the Commonwealth, it happened more and more frequently that noblemen took their ladies with them on their travels abroad:

which shows that in this age there are many kind husbands, for usually when husbands travel, they leave their wives behind, at least think them to be a trouble on their journeys; and counting their trouble to be more than the pleasure of their companies, they are left at home.

At the end of the century, women travellers had become a common phenomenon. Joseph Taylor, who in 1707 had just finished his legal studies and had been given the opportunity to visit the army in Flanders, made the crossing with several ladies and who met them again in Rotterdam where they were sightseeing, did not mention this as a curiosity. It was apparently nothing unusual for Mrs. Burnet to travel without the company of her husband when touring Holland and Germany with her children. However, women remain a very small minority among our tourists, that is to say among the writers of travel journals.⁹

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

British tourists in Holland in the first half of the seventeenth century made their journeys against a political background dominated by an Anglo-Dutch alliance. At the end of the sixteenth century, large numbers of English soldiers were sent to the Low Countries to assist the Hollanders in their struggle against Spain. In return, the British were allowed to establish garrisons in the "cautionary" towns of Flushing (with nearby fort Rammekens) and Brielle. In these cities, which commanded the entries to the rivers Schelde and Maas, the English do not always seem to have been very popular with the natives. According to Fynes Moryson, who, like Thomas Coryat, met with hospitality from countrymen at Flushing, the English "kept the citizens in such awe as they durst not attempt to recover their liberty by force". Roger Williams emphasizes the valour of the British but from Gascoigne's poems it may be inferred that many Dutch people looked upon their British allies as a necessary evil. Moryson was sent away from six inns

in Leiden before he finally found lodgings, and blamed it on his countrymen, many of whom had been pressed into service or had become adventurers because they lacked prospects at home.¹⁰

After the cautionary towns had been returned to the Dutch in 1616, the States continued to hire English and Scots regiments, whose presence was noticed by tourists in garrison towns all over the provinces. According to James Howell the United Provinces were "accounted the surest confederates of England and her fastest friends, for interest of religion, for community of danger and consequently of reciprocal preservation". British troops were used in the many sieges conducted by Prince Maurice and Frederic Henry, which attracted numerous tourists. Moryson went to see the siege of Geertruidenberg in 1593, Lord Herbert and William Bagot those of Juliers and Den Bosch. Crowne was just passing by when Schenkenschans fell in 1636, William Lithgow was at Breda in 1637 and Evelyn arrived at Gennep (1641) only a few days after it had been taken by the States. In 1646 Thomas Denne visited Hulst in Zeeuws Vlaanderen, which the Spaniards had been forced to surrender in the previous year. Lithgow felt contempt for many of the British tourists present at the siege of Breda, calling them "beardless scholars", a "presumptuous crew", who still needed much "learning, knowledge and instruction". He may have included volunteers like John Evelyn, who spent a day or two in the States' army, or people like Sir Anthony Hinton, who arrived with four servants and "18 suits of apparel" and had not "been sober since he came here". However, he was proud of the real troops, for whom the Low Countries constituted "the garden of Mars", and who were among the best in the service of the States. Sir Thomas Overbury was of the same opinion: "Most part of the great exploits there have been done by the English, who were commonly the third part of the army, being four regiments, besides eleven hundred in Flushing and the Rammekens, and five hundred in the Brill." Thomas Raymond, who had come over to Holland with his uncle William Boswell, the English ambassador, but who served as a common soldier in the States' army, wrote in a very different tone. He may have been proud of belonging to a very effective army, but life was hard and usually very inglorious indeed. George Hollings, the servant of Lord Irwin's younger brother, who had followed his master into the army, wrote back home: "I must be content with my condition now, but did never believe I could have submitted to what I do; for a soldier is no more looked upon than a dog."¹¹

While British soldiers were fighting in the States' armies, both the Dutch and the English were building up their overseas trade, which soon became a source of mutual irritation. One of the most unpopular measures Leicester had taken in 1586 was to stop trade with the enemy. Fynes Moryson had outspoken views about the matter: "How could they [the Dutch] think it just and equal that they should freely supply Spain with food and necessities for war? [...] except they desired to make the war eternal, by which they only grew rich." If the Dutch with their powerful fleet decided to forget their "old league with England [...] then such bloody fights at sea [were] like to happen as former ages never knew". He hoped things would not come to this pass and he concluded his *Itinerary* with the following words:

In general good men of both sides are to wish the continuance of peace between England and these provinces, by which both commonwealths have long had and may still have unspeakable benefit, and the rather because we never yet had war but perpetual amity together [...] Happy be the makers, cursed the breakers of our peace.¹²

However, the first of a series of wars at sea (1652-54; 1665-67; 1672-74) broke out soon after peace had been concluded with Spain in 1648. When Marmaduke Rawdon, a Yorkshire merchant, visited Zeeland in 1662 he wrote: "This town of Flushing is famous or infamous for sea thieves, I mean men of war and did more harm to merchants of England and Spain during the wars than all Holland besides." His opinion was that the town should never have been returned to the Dutch in 1616: "we should have kept those rebel Hollanders in more subjection." In 1666 James Yonge, a ship's surgeon on a British merchantman, was taken prisoner of war and spent several months in Dutch jails. In the following year De Ruyter made a successful raid on the British fleet at Chatham, and the pride of the Navy, the Royal Charles, was taken to Holland as a prize. Later British travellers could hardly avoid seeing it on their arrival in Hellevoetsluis; part of its stern was on show in the Admiralty building at Amsterdam. Chauvinistic travellers felt much more at ease in the great church at The Hague, where the "glossing epitaph" on the monument erected to the memory of Admiral Van Wassenaer Obdam "afford[ed] good diversion to most Englishmen". He "had the folly and vanity to carry a broom in his main top, as much as to say he would sweep the sea of the English. But they made a shift to send him and his broom to take the air".¹³

The peace of Breda, which in 1667 temporarily put an end to hostilities, is little mentioned, possibly because it was felt to have been a "dishonourable treaty". In any case it did not provide a lasting solution to the problems. Sir Edward Turnour, who in October 1670 sailed to Holland to "conduct the Prince of Orange into England", tells how, after a few days at sea, they met several Dutch vessels, one of which

did not love his topsail; we therefore loaded one of our guns and shot at him but with intent to miss him and accordingly the shot flew ahead of him. When he found that we were in earnest he then did his duty in loving his topsail and lay by till we came up to him; it was a Dutch vessel loaded with oysters and herrings.

Ambassador Jenkins was also involved in an incident of this kind. In 1674 a States' man-of-war saluted him with five guns "but did not strike his pennant". The pennant came down only after the Dutchman had been given "a shot athwart his forefoot". However, a few years later it was Jenkins who lost face. When in 1679 he was at Lillo, duly equipped with a passport from the States, he got involved in a vulgar row. When he ordered "two insolent searchers" off his ship, which they had no right to search in the first place, Jenkins received several blows on the arm with an oar.¹⁴

However, the Dutch Republic was not only a serious competitor and at times even an enemy, it also served (throughout the century) as a safe place for many refugees and exiles who had left Britain for religious or political reasons. Just as British Catholics found a refuge in Flanders and northern France, Puritans and other dissenters went to Holland. For several years, the later Pilgrim fathers lived in Leiden, and during the Commonwealth numerous members of the Stuart court moved to The Hague, where they gathered around Elizabeth Stuart, the Queen of Bohemia ("for her winning princely comportment [called] the Queen of Hearts"), who had lived there since 1621. Many of her countrymen, among whom Evelyn, Reresby and Fraser came to "kiss her hand". After Charles II had returned to his kingdoms following a triumphal entry into The Hague in 1660, the place of the royalist exiles was taken over by supporters of the Commonwealth, not all of whom were out of danger in Holland. The English resident managed to arrest some regicides at Delft "although the Lords of the town made some difficulty to deliver". It was said that the States General had given their permission, "believing none of these caterpillars were in Holland".¹⁵

In the 1680s when opposition to Charles II and James II became increasingly violent, the influx of refugees was particularly great. Robert Ferguson, "the plotter", arrived in 1679, Locke in 1683, Thomas Papillon, John Erskine and James Nimmo in 1685. An event which caused great concern in the exiled communities was the arrest of Sir Thomas Armstrong in Leiden in 1684. The Schout, who had detained him to cash the reward offered by England, "incurred a great deal of hatred from the rest of the magistrates of this town, and in general from all the people of Holland, who think themselves obliged to rescue all men that come among them for refuge, not perhaps so much out of principle of honour as profit." Thomas Molyneux, the author of this report, who was a student at Leiden at the time, writes how the British students were just then accompanying several of their colleagues to the boat, which gave rise to the rumour that they were all leaving the town. The next day the magistrates of the city

sent a formal message to the parson of the English congregation, that he might assure any of his countrymen for the future they should constantly find refuge here, though they had been guilty of many and great misdemeanours at home, and that they should not be delivered up upon any pretence whatever.

Molyneux was well aware that the Leiden magistrates did not act out of love for the English, since the Dutch hated the English more than any other people and he was surprised that so few of his travelling countrymen noticed it. According to him the main reasons for this ill will were the wars, the competition in trade and the links between the Princes of Orange and the British court. All the same, refugees continued to pour in, some groups even actively preparing for a change in the political situation at home. Exiles and refugees were particularly numerous at Utrecht, "a receptacle of rogues", and Amsterdam, where the bookseller John Dunton in 1688 reported seeing "several of Monmouth's friends".¹⁶

A turn in Anglo-Dutch relations came with William III's successful invasion of England in 1688-89. Edmund Calamy "saw some of the forces actually embark" in Rotterdam. England and Holland had become allies again, this time against France. Gilbert Burnet, whose travel account is principally a political statement, looked upon William III as a conquering hero under whose leadership Holland was "the bulwark of Christendom" and the Dutch "the preservers of the peace

and liberty of Europe". Dr. Walter Harris, one of the King's physicians, wrote about him after the treaty of Rijswijk:

Europe will ever be indebted [to him] for this glorious and wonderful peace that it now so happily enjoys, and which will always be recorded by historians to the immortal praise of the great King William and to the admiration of posterity.

Joseph Shaw must have shared these views for he looked back upon a century of Anglo-Dutch relations, without once referring to antagonism. Holland had "ever been a safe and kind asylum for all great and good Englishmen, whom the iniquity of the times or the unjust and villainous practices of a wicked faction and cabal [had] driven from their native country". He hoped the readers would pardon

a little warmth in the style [...] in praise of the Dutch, who are of the same religion with ourselves and whose interest it is to support us, to screen themselves from the terrible power of France.¹⁷

We have not found instances of such extreme admiration for the Dutch in travellers who visited Holland immediately after William's death. During Queen Anne's reign political relations between the two countries were often strained and some tourists on their way to the armies in Flanders noticed that the Dutch attitude towards the English had cooled as well. One gentleman noted in 1712:

They are generally very civil to strangers but the last clandestine managements of the English have rendered the nation very odious to them, insomuch that they and they only are the chief subject of their derision where they differ very little from England.¹⁸

NOTES

¹ Eyewitnesses: Schama, 22, not realizing that much of Aglionby was translated from Parival, mentions them as two distinct eyewitnesses of one and the same event; tourists use guidebooks: e.g. Schudt, Harder, Rowen, Bientjes and the editors of the journals of Platter and Evelyn.

² Cranston, did not identify "Groening" as Groningen; Rowse (cf. A. Throckmorton) writes Armen for Arnemuiden; McClure (cf. Chamberlain, 309) even writes Arnhem for this port in Zeeland; J.R. Hale (cf. Beatis, map) mixes up Workum in Friesland with the town opposite Gorkum in Holland; Stoye, 247, writes Hysdun for Heusden; Trease, 46, not realizing Guicciardini was the national guidebook, calls it "an Italian book"; the towns Black mentions might be more easily recognized if modern spelling for Gröningen, Helvooitsluis and the Brill had been used (48, 56).

³ Soldiers, cf. Ferguson; Puritans, cf. Sprunger; exiles, cf. J. Walker; weaver, cf. Locke, n. 14.

⁴ Cf. Oldenburg, I, 5, asking Vossius to get him a job as tutor to "the son of a nobleman or the son of some honest merchant"; fireside, e.g., Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis?*, as quoted in W.B. Rye, xxv; tutors were often French Protestants e.g., Blainville, Misson, Bérard; quotation, Carr, 2.

⁵ Cf. L.B. Wright; there are also letters by Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville and William Davison (printed in Batten, 88-89); cf. also Moryson III, chaps. 1-3; cf. instructions Nicolson and the list of things a traveller should notice in Anon. 1669; cf. Newton's letter with advice on travel, *Correspondence*, I, 9-11, and the document written by Sir Robert Southwell referred to there; cf. *Letters of the "Travelling Bachelors"*; the matter is discussed in Frank-Van Westrienen, 74-75, G.B. Parks, *Travel as Education* and Robson-Scott, 34. Much of the advice derives from H. Turler, *De peregrinatione* (1574); for apodemic publications in chronological order, cf. C. Howard, 205-09, but more particularly the publications by Stagl; cf. Butler, *Characters, A Traveller*, 102: "This makes him quack and blow up himself with admiration of foreign parts, and a generous contempt of Home"; Northleigh, 710; Skippon, 407; Penson, 5r-6r.

⁶ Order of Grand Tour, Howell, *Instructions*, 59, 80; Lassels, preface; cf. also Stoye, 177; British students in Holland, cf. R.W.I. Smith, Guthrie, Hulshoff; at Utrecht with tutor, Lord George Douglas; Evelyn, 52, paid a "Rix-dollar" (= 50 st.) in all; Molyneux, 473; Carr, 11; Hope, 165; Fraser, 96r; Molyneux, 473-74; cf. Northleigh, 707: "The Rector Magnificus [...] enters them into the university book for five shillings or half a crown; and so by means of a certain ticket they are entitled to a certain quantity of wine and beer, without paying excise"; cf. also Moryson, Hughes, 375-76 (JJ, 292-93).

⁷ Haccius, 18 June 1704; non-conformists, cf. chap. 1, p. 51; Calamy, 142, mentions several students of theology; Idem, 154-64; lodgings, 142, cf. Erskine's arrival in Leiden, 110; Hyde, 625, revisited his old school: "I saw the room we dined in and the chamber my brother and I lay in, which I remembered"; Isham, R, II, 20: "The Academy was erected during the time I was there."

⁸ Ralph Verney to his son's tutor (1654), Verney, III, 89-90; L.B. Wright, xiv; The timetable of Sir Thomas Puckering's (1592-1636) studies in France was: 7h. riding; 9h. French reading and oral translation from Latin into French; 11h. fencing; 12h. dinner; 14h. dancing; 15h. Latin with tutor; 17h. translation Latin into French; 18h. supper; after that a survey of all (Charlton, 230-31); Leake, 19r-20r; Locke in Churchill, I, lxxi; he says he had taken most items on the list from Misson; cf. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, par. 212: Travel; Locke thought it a pity that the majority of young travellers made their journey at an age (16-21) at which they were the least willing to learn (Locke, Axtell, 321).

⁹ Lady Browne, cf. Stoye, 258; Newcastle, letter, XCIX, p. 196; touring couples: Perth, Duke, Shrewsbury; Taylor, 2, 9; cf. *A True [...] Bergen up Zome*, tourists included numerous ladies, cf. chap. 3, p. 115.

¹⁰ Moryson, I, 200 (JJ, 248); Coryat, 375; Moryson, I, 51 (JJ, 238); Williams, passim; Gascoigne, I, 173; pressed, Chamberlain, II, 593-96, some rather killed themselves than go overseas; II, 601, English troops starved and died of disease; no prospects, lodgings, Moryson, III, 98 (JJ, 260); lodgings, similar remark by Molyneux, 486.

¹¹ British soldiers, Brereton, Coryat, Moryson, Reresby etc.; Chamberlain, II, 453, commented on the large numbers of tourists who went to see the siege of Bergen op Zoom; Howell, *Instructions*, 60; Denne, 20; Lithgow, 52; Hinton, cf. Dalton, II, 45-46; Mars, Lithgow, 1614: "For policies, industries, strong towns and fortifications it is the mirror of virtue and the garden of Mars"; similar remarks, Howell, *F.L.*, 119, 125; Overbury, 98; cf. Moryson, Hughes, 371 (JJ, 287); Howell, *F.L.*, 119: "The English have been the best sinews of their war and achievers of the greatest exploits among them"; Lithgow, 42-52; cf. Harris, 52, on the "unparalleled bravery" of the British soldiers at Namur in 1695; Raymond, 35-44; Hollings, 17 April, 1705; cf. John Earle, 23, The younger brother: "His last refuge is the Low Countries, where rags and lice are no scandal, where he lives a poor gentleman of a company and dies without a shirt."

¹² Moryson, I, 291-92 (JJ, 278-80).

¹³ Rawdon, 109-10; Yonge, 92-100; Royal Charles, Style, 24; cf. Browne, journal, Sept. 17; Turnour, 2: "We saw the Royal Charles lie in the harbour with several other great men of war, among which was De Ruyter's ship, the admiral of Holland; she is a much higher ship than the Royal Charles I believe by some yards, but the Charles is well nigh as long"; Obdam, Walker, 2; cf. Nicolson, 3v-4r, Child, 177, 10r-v and Turnour, 3; broom, Mountague, 50.

¹⁴ Walker, 8; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 132: "indifferent treaty"; Turnour, 1; Jenkins, I, 353; II, 641.

¹⁵ Exiles, cf. J. Walker; puritans, cf. Sprunger; Flanders, cf. Van Strien, Recusant Houses; Queen of Bohemia, Howell, 112; Anon. 1662, 35v.

¹⁶ Molyneux, 485-86; receptacle, Douglas, 20 Jan. 1687, he tells his father this is the reason why the Earl of Orrery left Utrecht; Dunton, 211.

¹⁷ Calamy, 151; Burnet, *Some Letters*, 298; Harris, 54; Shaw, xix.

¹⁸ Anglo-Dutch relations during the war of the Spanish succession, cf. Coombs; Anon. 1712, 11v.

CHAPTER I

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we shall examine the various texts in which Britons mention their travels in the United Provinces. There is a wide variety of documents: financial accounts, all sorts of notebooks, private diaries, memoirs, correspondence and a wide range of travel journals. Some of these categories overlap. John Dunton's account is a combination of a travel journal and correspondence. James Yonge's report of his stay in Holland starts as a memoir but later there are passages with daily entries as in a travel journal. John Evelyn's *De vita propria*, which was written in his old age, is also a mixture of travel journal and memoir. Sir James Hope's travel journal has many characteristics of a private diary because of the numerous entries concerning himself, his relatives and his finances. First we shall briefly discuss travel accounts in the form of private diaries and memoirs and then deal in more detail with correspondence and the travel journal, as it is this group of records which provides us with most of our material.

PRIVATE DIARIES AND OTHER PERSONAL NOTES

Under this heading we have assembled a mixed group of documents, which their authors kept mainly for their own use. In view of the fact that at least one-fifth of educated people kept some sort of diary at any time in their lives, relatively little material has survived, but then as now, financial accounts, personal memoranda and even private diaries are rarely looked upon as unique documents worth preserving by the author, let alone by others.¹

Our list of these documents comprises the financial accounts of Richard Rawlinson, the governors of the Earl of Orrery and the Duke of Leeds' grandchildren and some others; Dutch almanacks with a record of Griffin Higgs' correspondence and books he bought; the

notebooks of ensign William Cramond (1688) and the Duke of Monmouth with itineraries of some of their journeys; a journal kept by a Mr. Gooche, a student at Utrecht and the notes by Henry Sidney and Laurence Hyde on their activities as diplomats. There are also the commonplace books kept by William Drake and a number of private diaries, some of which, like those kept by Ralph Thoresby and John Erskine, contain a fair amount of religious introspection. The former includes details about his life as an apprentice in Rotterdam, where he stayed with relatives to learn a trade and the latter, who had come to Holland as a refugee, gives information on his time as a student at Leiden and Utrecht. John Forbes, who had been deposed as a professor at Aberdeen, seems to have lived from sermon to sermon and took all his providential escapes from danger equally seriously, even his fall from a stool when he was getting into a high Dutch bed. Apart from these, there are the notebooks of John Locke, which show his preoccupation with study, and the very detailed account of his stay in Holland by Samuel Pepys.²

The information on travel in these documents is generally limited. They were not primarily meant to be read by others, so there was no obligation for travellers to give full descriptions of the itinerary and the sights. Thoresby refers to his five-day trip to Amsterdam in only a few lines. This is his entry for 19 July 1678: "All this day observing things most remarkable, as the Great Church, the wine-fat [cask], etc." Erskine, who mentions a large number of names of people he met, made a holiday tour in July and August 1686, and this part of his diary does not differ very much from some of the travel journals kept by others:

5th [July]. A little before four I left Utrecht with my cousin and Mr. Gray. We walked on foot and before eight was in Wijk, a walled town but not in order. From that we came to Amerongen two hours and took up our quarters by ten.³

Pepys spent much more time writing in his diary than Erskine and although it was written in shorthand, probably expected that it would some day be read by others. We can follow him for almost 24 hours a day and get full details about travel, accommodation, meals, shopping and sightseeing. The Dutch section of his diary constitutes by far the richest account of a seventeenth-century British tourist in The Hague and Delft. It is also unique in showing us the sexual reveries many of the lonely British tourists would have had. Matters like these were hardly ever recorded, not even in private diaries:

I went to lie down in a chamber in the house, where in another bed there was a pretty Dutch woman in bed alone, but though I had a month's mind to her, I had not the boldness to go to her.⁴

Private diaries are interesting since they show us more about the traveller than any of the other documents at our disposal. We get a reflection of the state of mind of someone who is not self-consciously conveying information to others, but writing for himself, which sometimes results in a directness not met with elsewhere.

MEMOIRS

Authors of memoirs (for which a variety of terms were used) wrote for their children, their friends or society at large, to tell them memorable things about their lives. Authors usually focused on their careers, paying little attention to their private lives and inner feelings: Sir William Temple wrote about his "public employments" and Captain George Carleton concentrated on his military exploits. Members of the aristocracy, the gentry and the professional classes did their best to present themselves as honourable and successful members of society. Gideon Harvey demonstrated to his critics that he had received a perfectly thorough medical training at Leiden and in France, and Lord Herbert described his meetings with the famous and was proud of the fact that he had been mentioned by William Crosse in his *History of the Low Countries*. Even in memoirs written by Quakers, who often included the story of their conversion, the emphasis is not on their inner feelings but on their public life, i.e. their subsequent travels. Caton and Stubbs stress the persecution they suffered whereas Penn seemed to be pleased that his preaching had also been effective with several members of the upper classes.⁵

Memoirs, some of which were actually published during the period we are looking at, were very consciously composed and as such very different from private diaries: their authors looked back on their past and had to make the effort to go through old letters, diaries and other papers in order to select material that could serve their purpose. The Earl of Clarendon, who concentrated on the political intrigues involving Charles II at The Hague in 1648, included a fairly detailed account of his crossing (during which he and his companions were taken prisoners by privateers from Ostend). In his *Memoirs of My Life*

Sir John Clerk had much to say about his long career, so there was only room for a condensed version of his travels in Holland. Important papers were sometimes included in full: Penn inserted several of his letters and sermons, and in Thomas Cuninghame's *Journal* we find among other official papers, the King's declaration confirming him in his office of Conservator of the Scots staple at Veere.⁶

Some authors selected their material with a specific literary model in mind. For his *Commentaries*, Sir Francis Vere was influenced by Caesar's *Commentarii* on the Gallic war, and politicians like Temple and Burnet imitated contemporary political memoirs published in France. For Quakers, the obvious model was the Bible, in particular the journeys of St. Paul, which is probably why they often recorded their travels in great detail. The editor of Fox's *Journal* adopted almost in full the travel account Fox's servant Haistwell had made. The latter wrote about the departure of Fox and Penn from Rotterdam: We "took boat there and passed to Delft city and walked through the city and took boat again to Leiden city and friends lodged at an inn that night"; Fox himself added to this: "This is six Dutch miles from Rotterdam, which are eighteen English miles and five hours' sailing or travelling; for our boat was drawn by a horse that went on the shore." Although he clearly wanted to include many details of his journey, Fox left out Haistwell's remark on the murder of the De Witt brothers, which was probably felt to be out of place in a work intended to show how dutifully Fox had laboured in the Lord's vineyard.⁷

The picture of Holland we get from memoirs does not necessarily reflect the traveller's ideas as they were during the journey. It is very much determined by the author's views at the moment of writing and by the impression he wanted to make on his readers. The tone of Reresby's memoirs is in places (e.g. the story of the discomfort he suffered on his voyage to Zeeland) very different from that of his travel journal, and there is no longer an enumeration of the sights. He now concentrated on his contacts with well-known people like the Queen of Bohemia and the Princess of Orange. In the various autobiographical texts written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, the Whig politician and Bishop of Salisbury, we see Holland each time from a different angle. In his *Original Memoirs* (c.1683) he presented himself as a diligent student who had received much profit from his travels. Among many other things he wrote:

One thing I drank in at Amsterdam (which sticks still with me and is not like to leave me), which is never to form a prejudice in my mind against any man because he is of this or that persuasion; for I saw so many men of all persuasions that were as far as I could perceive, so truly religious, that I never think the worse of a man for his opinions.

In his *Autobiography* (1710) the emphasis was still on religious matters, but in his *History of My Own Time* (c.1704; publ. 1724–34), the visit, which was only briefly referred to, was placed in a political context:

I saw much peace and quiet in Holland, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions among them; which was occasioned by the gentlemen of the government and the toleration that made all people easy and happy. An universal industry was spread through the whole country; there was little aspiring to preferment in the state because little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with England and were preparing for it. From there, where everything was free, I went to France, where nothing was free.⁸

John Evelyn kept an enormous amount of detail in his memoirs, probably because he wanted to stress, for the benefit of his young reader, how travel had been for him the finishing touch to his education as a gentleman. In most other memoirs travel does not figure so prominently. Cuninghame dwells upon only one rather peculiar journey, during which he travelled from Amsterdam to Breda in a cart loaded with 20,000 guilders worth of coins, “all in ducats and crossdollars, near 700 lb. weight”. Temple probably only mentioned his journey from Antwerp to Rotterdam in August 1674, because the storm which immobilized his ship for some time also blew down part of the great church at Utrecht. This and his famous anecdote about Dutch cleanliness (the maid carrying the guest on her back in order to keep her floor clean) was clearly included to give some variety to a text whose main subject was politics. Yonge described the conditions of life in his prisons in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Thomas Raymond wrote about the miserable time he had as a common soldier and Joseph Hall remembered how he alone of a group of friends had missed the ship that was to carry him from Middelburg back to England. Calamy, Clerk and Sibbald talked about their universities. After Sibbald had decided to become a doctor he embarked “in a Dutch frigate” for Holland and this is what he recalled for the benefit of posterity:

I stayed at Leiden one year and a half and studied anatomy and chirurgy under the learned professor Van Horne. I studied the plants under Adolphus Vorstius, who had been then botanic professor 37 years, and I studied the institutions and practice under Sylvius, who was famous then. I saw 23 human bodies dissected by him in the hospital, which I frequented with him [...] In the vacance I travelled to Utrecht and stayed some days there and several times to Amsterdam, where I saw the East-India House, was in the Jews' Synagogue and saw their worship; and I went and herbalized in the downs and woods with the gardener of the medicine garden.⁹

CORRESPONDENCE

A third important source of information left by British travellers is made up of a large number of letters, most of which are only marginally related to our field of enquiry. The huge amount of diplomatic correspondence yields only incidental accounts of journeys, as for instance the letters written by Carleton, Jenkins and Vernon. Purely personal letters do not reveal much about travel either, as appears from those written by the refugees Papillon and Ferguson to their wives after their arrival in Holland. The same holds for the often businesslike reports Scots students sent to their professor Wodrow. There is more information in the specific travel correspondence written by tourists.

In many cases the correspondence with England was carried on by tutors, who sent their employers the latest political news and reported on their pupils. Bérard, the governor of the Duke of Leeds' grandchildren, was usually pleased with the progress of his two young lords, but Thomas Lorkin had a thankless task. Blainville's references to his pupils must have been left out by the editors of his letters as not being of interest to the general public. It is possible that young noblemen themselves produced long letters describing the sights of Holland (Compton wrote quite extensively on Germany), but the material we have come across suggests they preferred to entertain their correspondents with things that had happened to them on the journey. Osborne wrote with apparent pleasure about his crossing in rough weather. Philip Stanhope, who later was to become British ambassador to The Hague, knew exactly what sort of letters were expected of him but he frankly confessed he was too lazy to write them. The Earl of Perth, who was much older, made a far more serious effort and the letters to

his sister with information on his day to day activities and full reports on the sights are “almost a diary” of his life.¹⁰

Many tourists omitted personal details and concentrated on a description of the various things they had seen. In a period of seven weeks, Edward Browne sent his father five long letters about his travels in Holland, all of which Sir Thomas copied into a book. He kept most of the originals as well and his own letters addressed to Edward are among the rare letters to tourists that have survived. William Molyneux regularly wrote to his brother Thomas in Holland and told him that he expected “full and complete” letters, which he would keep for him until after his return: “Let the account you give me of things be such as you would publish, were you to write your travels [...] By this method, dear Tom, you will be saved the trouble of writing many things twice over – first in your own diary and then to me.” Accordingly, Thomas Molyneux crammed his letters with information about Holland and it would seem his brother was not disappointed.¹¹

Thomas Molyneux was probably not the only traveller who needed some guidance on how to write letters. In 1642 James Howell published his *Instructions for Forraine Travell*, in which he stated that the young tourist should write at least once a month, reporting on how he improved himself “in his courses abroad”. The traveller was advised “not to scribble a few cursory lines, but to write elaborately and methodically” so that he would quickly learn how to write well. In 1645 Howell’s *Familiar Letters* came out which, according to a critic, taught “a new way of epistolizing”, for Howell had demonstrated that letters were a literary genre capable of conveying serious information. Letters were a medium in which a writer could “express [his] mind as if he were discoursing with the party to whom he writes, in succinct and short terms”, as in conversation. The book opened with letters he had supposedly sent home from abroad as early as 1619. In those written from Holland he addressed each correspondent in a different way. He told his brother witty anecdotes about Holland and the Dutch; an Oxford friend received a highly literary piece of work in praise of friendship and a factual account of his journey was sent to his father. The letters were clearly meant as models just as the essay with general observations on the United Provinces, which he sent to his patron.¹²

When Burnet published the account of his travels he did not turn his correspondence into a travel journal, as had been usual before the 1680s, but had it printed in the form of (five long) letters to a friend.

The book, some editions of which have detailed subject indexes, described a nine months' tour through France, Italy and Germany in 1685-86 and emphasized "the misery of those who lived under absolute government and devouring superstition". The last letter, which was written at Nijmegen contained an extremely flattering portrait of William III. The book became an immediate best-seller, not only because of its political subject matter, which afforded "pleasure to every consistent Protestant", but also because the form appealed to the public. Letters looked more authentic and offered more room for personal remarks and anecdotes than the more formal travel journals. One critic, discussing Misson's travel guide (1691, also published as correspondence), appreciated the absence of long, elaborate descriptions and wrote about the author: "He does not tie himself to any peculiar subject, but speaks of everything as it offers itself to him; which fills his letters with a great deal of variety and diversion." Misson and Madame d'Aulnoy's *Travels in Spain* (1691), which contained many "modern adventures", set a fashion. Most scholars stuck to the journal form, but more and more tourists, among them Farrington, Taylor and Shaw, adopted the letter form when for the pleasure and benefit of their readers they worked out the account of their travels.¹³

Of course, not everybody had the literary talent of Misson or d'Aulnoy, but some tourists made a serious effort. On the whole Farrington's letters have the descriptive tone we find in journals, but his anecdote about the trekschuit passenger who had stolen a pair of earrings has a far greater directness. Kenyon was a good letter writer who tried to involve his readers, and Taylor's correspondence has a distinct personal flavour, witness the report of the visit he paid to his dancing partner at Rotterdam, on the day after a ball:

When I went to wait on her, I was carried up a noble marble staircase, through a long dining room paved with excellent marble and hung with Indian satin and adorned with curious china and then through another room into a withdrawing room, where the lady was playing upon the harpsichord. It is impossible to tell you how I was delighted with her genteel reception, which was mixed with such an air of modesty and freedom that she appeared inexpressibly charming. After I had heard her sing several Latin, Italian, French and English songs and enjoyed the pleasure of a most engaging conversation, I retired home, melancholy at the thoughts of being so soon deprived of it.¹⁴

In letters the tourist could give information – as in Taylor’s case on the interior of the houses – in a pleasant way. Shaw, who published his *Letters to a Nobleman*, also took care to avoid long descriptions crammed with facts. His notes on the cities and the general remarks on the country as a whole are interspersed with anecdotes. The mock heroic account of an imagined attack by robbers on the Veluwe in the middle of the night was clearly included to entertain. The letters display the “good humour and good breeding” which critics appreciated. Shaw’s outspoken pro-Dutch and anti-French feelings also helped to make this guidebook a perfect example of what could be achieved in this genre at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁵

TRAVEL JOURNALS

While treating this genre, it is not our purpose to discuss in detail the literary ancestors of the seventeenth-century travel journal or diary. It may be sufficient to refer to its immediate predecessors in the sixteenth century: the reports kept by travelling diplomats or people accompanying some royal person. As far as Holland is concerned, there are the invaluable accounts of Beatis (1517-18), Alvarez (1548), Calvete de Estrella (1552) and various accounts of Venetian diplomats; by contrast sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts concerning the travels of British royalty and diplomats are only of limited interest. Far more important are the travel journals kept by tourists, most of which were written by relatively young people who made a European tour often after finishing their studies at home.¹⁶

In some publications on the art of travel there is detailed advice on how notes should be taken. Daily entries were to be made “within writing tables” and should later be copied “into a paper book”. In his *Compleat Gentleman* (1678), which was probably written for young students who travelled with a tutor to prepare for a career in politics, Jean Gailhard told his readers what to do after having visited a town:

Being informed of the policy and constitution thereof, as you come back to your lodging, you may meditate and discourse upon these things [...] with those you think capable of it, to get [...] a more exact and particular information of everything; after all this, when you are gone into your chamber, you must take pains orderly to set down in writing in your diary book what you heard and learned; and if you are many or

only two, it will be well for everyone to have his own book, afterwards to compare notes and know who has been more exact.¹⁷

Journals were not only kept by people who liked writing; in many cases travellers were under some form of obligation to those who had stayed at home. Fathers and patrons could find in the journals at least some evidence that the young men had taken the journey seriously, even if the account of it had been kept by a tutor or a servant, as was the case with the Vicar of Stepney's son and Lord Maynard. Blainville, who was so critical of previous writers on Holland, may well have discussed his long descriptive letters with his pupils as part of their geographical studies. In fact keeping a travel journal may be looked upon as a continuation of the studies the young people pursued in the university towns, during which period no journals were kept. Going from town to town, the student or scholar who wished to produce a decent journal consulted all sorts of books on history and geography, written in Latin, Italian or French. Some travellers (like William Osborne, who wrote to his grandfather in French) even wrote (parts of) their journals or letters in a foreign language, although none were as brilliant as Van Vliet, whose daily entries are in six different languages. Like letters, journals were read by relatives and lent out to friends and others who might be interested. It was a good thing that Peter Mundy had kept copies, for on one occasion his father failed to recover a journal that had been borrowed by a friend. A list of names and addresses in Thomas Penson's rough copy shows that between 1691 and 1698 more than 70 people read his *Short Progress*. The fact that Chiswell expressly stated that he did not want others to read the account of his travels shows how common this practice of lending was.¹⁸

In the course of the seventeenth century large numbers of travel journals must have been kept by tourists, and hundreds were published in the various countries of Europe. Accounts of journeys in Western Europe were relatively popular in educated circles and reading them was considered like music, painting and histories, as an "honest and laudible" recreation. Among the published books which describe travel in Holland, there are reports of journeys by ambassadors or royalty, which contained political news, and works written by scholars, who emphasized history and other fields of learning. Apart from these, there are a large number of more or less carefully written accounts which remained in manuscript.¹⁹

We shall now look at the seventeenth-century travel journals in more detail, studying their structure and trying to find out what information about Holland they usually contain and what they reveal of the travellers themselves. In doing this, we shall (following contemporary perceptions) make a distinction between narrative and descriptive aspects. In the former, the tourist tells about the circumstances of his journey and in the latter he gives us a picture of the country he visits.²⁰

Narrative aspects of the travel journal

The framework of a travel journal is determined by the itinerary which each traveller followed and by the dates. The few pages of Humphrey Ridley's notebook reveal that he arrived at Den Briel on 8 August, 1679, that he travelled to Leiden, where he took his doctor's degree on September 15 and that he saw the shores of England again on October 24. Time and place are often noted in the margin and usually occur in the opening sentence of a travel journal. Sir Francis Child started his as follows:

June the 2nd, 1697. I went in a barge from the Temple stairs to Gravesend, where I lay that night and the next day about noon I went on board the Navy yacht, Captain Moses commander.²¹

This looks like the beginning of a continuous story about the journey, but the writer of a travel journal generally does not report on every day of his trip. Many tourists only noted the dates on which they actually travelled and apparently did not feel that long periods spent in a particular town deserved mention in a travel journal. A student who returned to Utrecht after a journey in September 1699 noted: "From this time I continued constantly at Utrecht without seeing or hearing anything remarkable." He resumed his travel journal only in August 1700, when he set out for Paris. Similarly Moryson did not write about his six months' stay in Leiden and even omitted to give the exact date of his departure. In published journals dates are rare, being irrelevant to readers mainly interested in descriptions of foreign countries, but possibly also because their authors wanted to give the impression that they had travelled slowly and thoroughly. In his book Browne only mentioned the dates of his embarkation for Holland (August 14 O.S., 1668) and his departure from Antwerp (October 4 N.S.). Northleigh and Shaw did not even mention the year in which they made their journeys.²²

It is fairly easy to find one's way through a finished travel journal since the place names are often clearly written in the margins, sometimes together with the distances travelled. Moody's itinerary was very detailed:

From Rotterdam to IJsselmonde	1
To Lekkerkerk, where lived a giant	1
We passed the Lek rivier and then to Krimpen	1
To Dordt, a very pleasant city	2

Villages were usually only mentioned when there was something special to be seen, as at Loosduinen or at Zevenhuizen, where the naturalist John Ray and his pupil Sir Philip Skippon visited a bird sanctuary. The travel journal mostly consists of a series of "chapters" on the important cities, which are linked by brief accounts of the journeys, sometimes only the distances and the duration. This is what Thomas Coryat wrote by way of report on his journey down one of the branches of the Rhine after a lengthy description of Nijmegen:

I departed from Nijmegen about eight of the clock in the morning the five and twentieth of September (being Sunday) and came to a fair town in Holland called Gorkum, situated by the river Waal, about six of the clock at night. This day's journey was four and twenty miles.²³

Remarks on the cost of travel occasioned by transport, lodging, drinks and meals are by no means general. Accounts were kept separately as we know from Bowrey and Neville's notebooks. Some travellers may have included financial details merely for local colour, like Robert Bargrave, who only mentioned what he paid for his passage from Flushing to England. Others may have included them as useful information to readers who themselves might later travel. A case in point is the unusual synopsis which precedes a journal kept by a gentleman in 1669, who in a few pages gives the dates, distances, the duration of each day's journey, the fares, the means of transport, the names of the inns and the cost of meals and accommodation. Fynes Moryson is the only author of a published travel journal to give systematic information on these financial details, which was apparently so uncommon that he justified himself for this in his preface.²⁴

Although the travel journal is often written in the first person singular, this does not necessarily imply that the tourist travelled on his own, which in fact was often the case as e.g. with Moryson and Edward Browne. John Evelyn, who travelled for much of the time

with a companion, seems to have varied the use of “I” and “we” for stylistic reasons. Many tourists did not see the point of referring to the company they travelled in, or their meetings with ordinary people, as opposed to royalty etc. Lists of names and addresses were probably kept separately. The student who was at Utrecht in 1699-1700 does not mention one single person in his journal but on the cover there is a long list of “foreign acquaintances”, more than 20 of whom he encountered in Holland. Tourists modelled their travel journals on published accounts and tended to leave out elements not met with there. John Locke, in a series of reviews of travel books, probably expressed what many people, especially scholars and students, felt about this genre: the traveller should not include “particulars of no use to anyone but himself”. Young Justinian Isham conformed to this practice when he wrote about his visit to the great church at Alkmaar: “I read some epitaphs but they being of private persons, I will omit them.” Edward Southwell did mention a lot of people, but his father, for whom the journal was kept, knew many of them. Similarly Bargaive’s reference to his cousin at The Hague must have been appreciated by his relatives. On the other hand, it would have been pointless for Browne to refer to Mr. Raymond and Mr. Vernon in his published book, as they were not generally known. It was purely by way of compliment that he mentioned his banker Sir James Johnson and the Rev. Mr. Hill, the English minister at Middelburg, who had shown him great hospitality. In the same way Coryat had paid public homage to Mr. Pots, the minister at Flushing.²⁵

James Fraser, who systematically mentions what happened to him during his visits to the various cities, is in the minority. Mundy dwelt on all the accidents he met with during his crossing of the North Sea, but apologized for this to his readers, for at that time the emphasis in travel journals was on a coherent description of the itinerary and the sights, not on the traveller and his contacts or the events of the journey, presented as an exciting or entertaining story. Sir Philip Skippon’s journey from Antwerp to Middelburg was far from dull: he missed a boat, and the one they finally hired hit a sandbank several times during a gale. However, it was not his purpose to tell his readers what he felt or thought during the trip; his role was that of the scholar who had to provide information on the country:

May 15. The passage boat being gone, we hired at the English quay, about ten in the morning a little boat and with a good wind sailed by

several forts on each side the river Scaldis and overtook the passage boat about three leagues from Antwerp at Lillo, where we had our things searched by the States officers. Thence we had a double gale and good tide (though sometimes our vessel struck on the ground) and saw many fortifications on each side the river; which in some places is very broad. At eighteen leagues from Antwerp we came to the isle of Walcheren and passed by a block-house called Ramekins and then entered a strait channel which brought us to Middelburg.²⁶

Adventure stories can be found in the highly popular *Rare Adventures* (1614) by William Lithgow, who unfortunately did not describe his travels in Holland, but also to some extent in Moryson, who gives an emotional account of his narrow escape from pirates off Vlieland. In the course of the century, exciting stories tend to disappear from books containing travels in Western Europe. Mandelslo gave a very adventurous account of his journey to the Far East, but from the moment of his arrival in England and Holland it becomes a scholarly report on the traditional sights. In the second half of the century, scholars seem to have avoided adventures as irrelevant or even undesirable, since readers might question the truthfulness of the book. Even when writing his letters Edward Browne adopted the role of the dutiful son and scholar, who seemed to have few other occupations beyond taking in impressions of foreign countries. Travel books belonged to a serious genre and their authors, like the historian, should take care not to deface "the solid truth" by inserting "jests, conceits, tales and other pleasing passages". However, in journals that remained unpublished the anecdote involving the traveller was perfectly acceptable. Moody related a nice story about his master's troubles with an innkeeper at Haarlem, where they – "the English dogs" – were threatened with clubs and staves when they did not immediately pay an extravagant bill. Another gentleman mentioned the unpleasant behaviour of his waggoners, who (he thought) had cheated him and even pulled their knives to make him pay.²⁷

Towards the end of the century anecdotes once again become more frequent in published travel journals. Tourists were probably influenced by contemporary travel correspondence in which a more conversational tone was adopted, and which included far more details of a personal nature than had been customary in the travel journal with its scholarly background. Thomas Penson adopted a fairly lively, hardly didactic tone for his *Short Progress*, which contains dramatic reports of his misfortunes and of the fine ladies he encountered.

Mountague pictured himself as a good-humoured gentleman, who liked good food and pleasant company. The tone of his *Delights of Holland*, a travel guide in the form of a journal, is set at the beginning with a story about some of his countrymen at Den Briel:

We had little to remark here than what is mentioned, only a pleasant adventure of a parcel of English Gentlemen that had never been abroad before; when they first came on shore here they went to the best house for accommodation and immediately fell to kissing and feeling the maids, which is not so customary here as at home; the servants would not come near them, but sputtered in Dutch, which they understood not, the mistress did so too; the mad English sparks they swore and hust [shouted] they would be gone out of the house, which they did, but they would not receive them at any other, so they came back again and gave us opportunity to laugh at them; we told them their frolics would not go down in this country.

With anecdotes like this the writer of the guidebook seems to suggest that for him, and probably for many others, travel abroad was no longer a serious undertaking from which one was supposed to return loaded with useful knowledge, it was also a pleasant way of spending one's leisure time.²⁸

The journal is often concluded with a rather formal statement in which the traveller affirms he is happy to have arrived back home, for which he sometimes expresses his gratitude to God. In a few journals there is a brief recapitulation showing the duration of the journey, the total distance travelled and the number of cities visited. Thus Coryat writes that he travelled 1,975 miles in five months and saw 45 cities. Isham on a tour lasting 19 days, saw about 20 cities in Holland and covered a distance of 106 Dutch hours. On his first journey Bargrave's total mileage was 2,441, including 254 between Hamburg and Amsterdam and 104 from Amsterdam to Antwerp. This is how he ended the account of his second journey:

March the 28th we set sail from Flushing about 3 in the afternoon and through God's favour we arrived in Thanet on the 29th about 10 in the morning. Our longing desires to see our relations moving us to run a very desperate adventure in coming ashore in a small boat, through such mountain seas as made us sensible indeed of exceeding great danger; but the same God that had so graciously accompanied us throughout our journey, mercifully restored us to our native country and vouchsafed us a happy re-encounter with our loved relations; for which and all other

his innumerable mercies and preservations, to Him as the origin and progress of our happiness be all praise and glory in secula seculorum, Amen.²⁹

Descriptive aspects

Relatively little space in the travel journal is taken up by the narrative of the journey; most of it is devoted to descriptions of what the traveller had seen and studied abroad. Thus tourists described what they perceived as typical of Holland: the barges, the canals, the country houses with their gardens and, of course, the high banks which protected the low-lying country against the rivers and the sea. Far more important, however, are the descriptions of the cities, without which no travel journal of this period can be called complete.³⁰

As has been pointed out above, many journals are divided into sections, each devoted to one particular city. These descriptions are sometimes chronological reports of the visits the tourist paid to the various sights, as in Bowrey, but this is not always the case. For just as there was a set method for visiting a town – one should climb a steeple to get a general view before going to see the individual sights – there were rules according to which the observations about a town (or a country) should be arranged. British travellers used the same methods as their continental counterparts and followed patterns of geographical description current at the end of the sixteenth century. The following subjects were generally dealt with: the town's name(s), its geographical situation (e.g. on a river), its history and government, the sights, and finally its inhabitants with their particular customs. Coryat began his description of Flushing as follows:

My observations of Vlyshingen commonly called Flushing, but in Latin Flissinga. The situation of this town is very memorable. For it is built in the form of a pitcher, which is slender at both the ends and wide in the middle. In regard whereof the name of the town is derived from the Dutch word Flessche, which signifies a pitcher [...] The town is not great, yet very fair, and beautified with many stately buildings that are made all of brick, according to the rest of the Zelandish and Hollandish cities. It is inhabited with many rich merchants.

He continued his account by mentioning the harbour and the town hall, and concluded it with some remarks on the people, in this case the British garrison. In Moryson, but also in Fraser, we find similar descriptions, which provided readers with a useful amount of geo-

graphical information. A military officer who passed through Breda on his way to the army in Flanders in 1706 even included details like the exact geographical position: "27 miles N.E. of Antwerp, 20 W. of Bois le Duc and 52 S. of Amsterdam. Long. 23 degrees 57 minutes; Latitude 51 degrees 30 min." This description and several others were inserted at the end of the journal.³¹

However, the majority of travellers did not see the point of including these encyclopedic reports on the relatively well-known cities of Holland. Sir John Reresby wrote: "There are none of these towns which do not deserve a particular and long description, were they not so near our own country as to be known to most persons either by sight or relation." Edward Southwell saved his energy for descriptions of the modern country houses of some of William III's favourites, while Bargrave only listed the main sights of Amsterdam. Similarly Mundy's report of Rotterdam is very brief: "This is a place of much shipping and trade; many English dwellers here and use our own country habit. Here on the [blank in MS] stands the statue of Erasmus Rotterdamus, excellently well cast in brass." At the end of the century even the author of a guidebook felt that the full descriptions had become inappropriate. Carr declared: "The reader is not to expect I should follow a geographical method and order in speaking of the places I have been in; that is to be looked for in the map and not in travels."³²

In Edward Browne's book we come across both the methodical and the more summary descriptions. His remarks on Amsterdam (pp. 95-100) follow the traditional pattern of the historical introduction followed by extensive and learned comments on the sights. By way of conclusion he touches on the customs of some of the people, viz. the Jewish inhabitants of the city. His account of Rotterdam, on the other hand, is a smooth continuation of the narrative of his "very pleasant passage up the river" from Den Briel. Entering the city from the waterside he first mentions two big men-of-war lying at anchor on the Maas near the city; then he continues:

The heads or quays between which we entered the town by water are handsome and ships of great burden are received into the middle of divers streets without difficulty (their channels being deep and large); the houses are well built and the town populous; they have an exchange or place for merchants to meet at; the streets are so clean that the women go about in white slippers, they being paved with bricks laid edgewise.

After this he briefly describes some buildings and a few rarities he saw at a "kermis" (fair). At the end, where readers expected to find remarks on the inhabitants of the city, Browne, continuing the theme of the kermis, comes up with a digression on tall people, "rarities of nature".³³

In their descriptions of the cities, tourists dealt with a large variety of topics. Notes were taken on the architecture of churches and town halls, particularly those at Amsterdam. Inside the buildings, inscriptions were copied and descriptions were given of sculptured memorials and other works of art. All sorts of public and private collections, often containing objects of art and natural history, were visited, and printed catalogues proved very helpful to travellers anxious to get the correct information into their journals. Scholars reported on their meetings with scientists and gave accounts of new developments in physics, medicine and chemistry, and many tourists described how wooden piles were rammed into the marshy soil of Amsterdam for the building of new houses, or recorded their impressions of the numerous places of worship they had visited, a favourite pastime for foreigners in Amsterdam.³⁴

To avoid monotony arising from the long succession of paragraphs on an endless number of topics, some authors added drama by inserting a number of historical anecdotes. William Brockman tells how at Zutphen in 1584 a minister preaching in the church was killed by a cannon ball. The stories of the taking of Breda by soldiers hidden in a barge loaded with peat, and that of the revolt of the Anabaptists in Amsterdam were very popular with tourists. The most famous of all was the story of the miracle of Loosduinen, where in 1276 a countess had given birth to 365 children the size of small chickens. According to tradition these children had been baptized in two brass basins, which could still be seen; an inscription related what had happened and it seems as if prints were for sale. Many tourists in The Hague made an excursion to this famous sight in the church half an hour's journey from town.³⁵

For serious students, the travel journal was not properly finished unless it was concluded by an essay on the country as a whole. Thomas Coryat, who had left out these observations because he was not interested in politics, promised those who criticized him for this that he would not make the same omission in his next book. According to James Howell it was important for students to "take an exact survey of the States of the United Provinces", since England and

Holland were natural allies and much could be learned there by young Britons. Fynes Moryson's general remarks on Holland include essays on the geography, history, politics and customs of the people and take up more space than the actual account of his journeys in the United Provinces. Tourists like Reresby, Ray and Northleigh, who visited several countries, usually inserted these general remarks after the description of the last city in each country. After his description of Flushing Fraser wrote: "Being now to leave the Netherlands, I shall give a description of Holland." Observations like these also occur in other convenient places: Brereton and Skippon dealt with the government of the United Provinces in their description of The Hague.³⁶

In the course of the century, the emphasis of these general observations, particularly in published books, shifts away from politics to remarks on the people, which traditionally were dealt with at the end. Much information was readily available in books like Jean de Parival's very popular guidebook *Les Délices de la Hollande* (1651) and Sir William Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces*, which appeared in 1672. This essay, with its insistence on political matters, became immensely successful and must have prevented later authors from adding the traditional essay when publishing the account of their journeys. Accordingly, Shaw and Northleigh wrote much more on the people than on the government. Browne did not discuss matters concerning the state at all, although, when he set out on his travels his father had given him the classic advice to inquire "after the policy and government of places". Ray stressed "the manners and particular customs of the Low-Dutch". Mountague dealt with entertainment (theatres and music houses), and another traveller appeared to be exclusively interested in the customs of the ordinary people. Burnet made no effort to improve on the work of the man he admired so much and wrote about Temple's book on Holland:

If we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he has given us of the least, but yet one of the noblest parcels of the universe, travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion; since one finds no further occasion for his curiosity in this country than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance.³⁷

From rough draft to publication

A point which has not been considered so far is the fact that travel journals differ widely in length and quality. Some, like Humphrey

Ridley's, are only a succession of short notes, which for some reason or other were preserved by the author. Then there are the very brief journals by William Bagot or Thomas Denne, from which we get only a vague impression of what the journey was like; towns and some buildings are mentioned but there are hardly any descriptions. Work like this shows that there was some truth in what Bishop Hall said about those who travelled abroad for their education. Would hurried travellers ever be able to produce in a month descriptions of foreign countries that could stand comparison with Camden and Speed? It would seem that Samuel Butler too had a point when he observed about travellers' reports: "They are like a sieve that lets the finer flour pass and retains only the bran of things." However, many travellers did put a lot of effort into the writing of their journals. Ferrar seems to have been a very diligent tourist and Mundy took great pains to fill his journals, which he kept for a period of 40 years (from 1608 till 1648), with serious information. He composed them from the original notes he had taken when abroad (too few he later realized), but also from memory, together with oral and written material from "the most probablest relations of others".³⁸

Quite a few tourists, who knew exactly what their travel journal should look like, made a promising start, but for some reason or other they could not keep up the effort. Sir Francis Child, who had arrived in Holland after sailing from London to Veere in Zeeland, had probably underestimated the amount of work the writing of a journal would involve. At the beginning of his fair copy he proudly wrote: *A Short Account by Way of Journal, of What I Observed Most Remarkable in My Travels through Some Part of the Low Countries, Flanders and Some Part of Germany Which Is on the Rhine*. He gave up after 29 large folio pages (containing many inscriptions) when he had only got as far as The Hague. The second version, entitled *A Journal of My Travels through the United Provinces*, is only a little longer and breaks off at Leiden. Another traveller who copied numerous inscriptions from monuments was William Nicolson, who had been sent abroad by Secretary Williamson. The ambitious young man kept an informative journal for his patron even putting in sketches of Roman antiquities that had only recently been discovered at Nijmegen. However, when he returned from Germany it was March and the bad weather prevented him from recording much beyond the itinerary. He apologized for this in a postscript to the journal:

Your honour will, I hope, pardon me in that the observations I have made in my return are more short and cursorious than might be expected. The truth is, the hardships I then underwent (contrary to your honour's generous intentions and my own hopes) made me more concerned to feed my carcass than my eyes.³⁹

A good example of the various elements that go into a finished travel journal can be found in the *Diary of Occurrences and Observations* kept by John Leake, tutor to the vicar of Stepney's son. The left-hand pages of his notebook are filled with background information on all sorts of subjects taken from books written in English, French, Latin and Italian. The other pages contain a running narrative of the main events of the journey and include some descriptions. If he had worked out his notes on Amsterdam there might have been fuller descriptions of sights, and the financial details might well have been left out:

The 21st we went from Leiden to Amsterdam in 7 hours. We took up our quarters at Mr. Moor's, an English house at the sign of the Bible and Orange near the Stadt-House. The next morning we waited upon our merchant Mr. Selomon Baruch Louzada, a Portuguese Jew. He treated us with great civility, he went with us into all the glorious apartments of the Stadt-House, showed us that stupendous piece of workmanship, the chimes and clock, the Exchange, St. Catherine's Church, in which is a fine brass tomb of Admiral De Ruyter; the Portuguese and German Jews' Synagogues, the Rasphouse, Beguinage etc. We delivered him our letter of credit, which empowered him to let us have what money we should have occasion for, to any part of Europe during the space of 6 months. We took up of him 400 guilders and returned again to Leiden the 25 in the evening.⁴⁰

A large number of tourists not only finished the text of their journal according to plan (making stylistic improvements, trying to limit the number of mistakes and filling in spaces left open in the text), but also made it pleasing to the eye. Penson's journal and the one Robert Moody kept for his master are in beautiful calligraphy and have ornamental frontispieces, which make them resemble printed books; many contain illustrations. The artist Sir James Thornhill made quite a few sketches of the sights he mentioned in his journal, and Fraser inserted a print representing Erasmus, even though it took up more space than a description in prose: "For the reader's satisfaction I have set his picture here below and bestowed this whole page upon his portrait, better than my pen can do." In the margin of Talman's notebooks

there are a number of small drawings: a row of tobacco plants, escutcheons seen in a church and ground plans of gardens. The journals of Browne and Skippon contained sketches as well, the latter made drawings of inscriptions and scientific instruments, among which a pneumatic engine belonging to Christiaan Huygens. Mundy's illustrations, most of which were made afterwards, are in the appropriate places in his books, "slightly pasted in", so that they might be replaced by better ones. John Clerk made hundreds of drawings during his travels; the ones he did not give away were stuck in at the end of his journal.⁴¹

When Isham produced a fair copy of his travel journal he discarded much of his original material, possibly to save time, but Peter Mundy kept working on his journals long after his return home and this was not unusual: Clerk wrote in part I of his travel journal: "I revised this volume in 1753", i.e. more than 50 years after he had returned from his travels. Still he was not satisfied with the style and forbade his descendants ever to publish it. It is interesting to see what changes John Evelyn made when, more than half a century after his tour on the Continent, he reviewed his *Kalendarium*, which was already a finished version of earlier travel notes. He discarded some aspects typical of a travel journal, such as dates and the occasional comment on lodgings. On the other hand, he put in more information on the cities he had visited and rarities he had seen, adding a historical note to his description of Flushing and explaining the "secret" of a chandelier that spouted water. The text was brought up to date politically with a reference to the then recent treaty of Rijswijk (1697). The fact that there is more explicit praise of the Dutch may be due to the political situation at the time, but it must have been for purely personal reasons that he made sure that his youthful enthusiasm about wine and women would not be misunderstood. "Hot service for a young drinker as I then was" became "more wine than was needful". His original report of the Spinhuis at Amsterdam was as follows: "Lewd women are kept in discipline and labour; but in truth all is so sweet and neat, as there seems nothing less agreeable than the persons and the place." In the later version the second sentence was dropped. He did his best to present himself as having been a pattern of good behaviour abroad.⁴²

It was obviously only diligent and ambitious travellers who published their books and it often took them a long time. Moryson worked on his *Itinerary* for at least twelve years, three of which he lost

abstracting the histories of the twelve countries he visited. Slowly the book went through its various versions (first in Latin, later in English), for Moryson could not afford to pay scribes. "To save expenses I wrote the greater part with my own hand and almost all the rest with the slow pen of my servant." He was never to see everything in print; 25 chapters were "not as yet fully finished", when his book (approximately 1000 large folio pages) was published in 1617.⁴³

Those who prepared their journals for publication set their standards very high. As it was their principal aim to convey information on the countries they had seen, authors consulted all the background literature they could lay their hands on and were open to suggestions from relatives and friends. Edward Browne received valuable assistance from his father, who helped him with background information, and from his sister, who worked out his sketches. John Ray's account is mainly based on that written by Philip Skippon, one of his students who accompanied him on the trip. For his general observations Ray used notes taken by his "much honoured friend Francis Barnham Esq.". Scholars realized that colleagues would read their work with a critical eye and (at the end of the century) that there might be reviews in learned papers. In their prefaces they humbly asked readers to bear with any shortcomings in scholarship or style, and often stated that friends had prevailed upon them to publish the book. Coryat talked about "the abortive fruits" of his travels; he was "no scholar but only a superficial smatterer in learning". Nevertheless he assured his readers they could look forward to a faithful and true account. Northleigh was less diffident: he wrote that he had never thought of publishing his travels but had lately noticed "almost everyone putting his pilgrimages into the press; and as I had travelled in better company than some publishers, so I thought I might pass at least in their company who had travelled in worse!". Browne hoped that his readers would have as much pleasure reading about the outlandish curiosities, as he had "had formerly in beholding them in their due situation, and in the contemplation and description of them afterwards".⁴⁴

As we have seen in the paragraph on general observations, the study of history and politics was one of the most important subjects for travellers in the first half of the century. Coryat gave his readers many interesting details about the Duchy of Gelderland, quoting no less than four authorities on the subject, Caesar, Tacitus, Munster and "learned Peucer". The story of the miracle of Loosduinen was too beautiful to be left out, even though he had never visited the place. He believed

that the event had really happened, since the available literature provided conclusive evidence:

The truth of this most portentous miracle is confirmed not so much by that inscription written on a certain table upon her tomb, as by sundry ancient chronicles of infallible certainty, both manuscript and printed.⁴⁵

Although many later travellers continued to write about history and almost invariably dealt with this miracle, their real interests lay elsewhere. Most of those who published their journals in the second half of the century were medical men and scientists, who (as Ray clearly stated in his preface) only included information of the traditional kind to appeal to a larger number of readers. Personally these Fellows of the Royal Society were far more interested in natural sciences. Ray (1673) gave information on plants, rare objects of natural history and on a bird sanctuary. Browne (1677) printed a passage on recent geographical discoveries, mentioned his visits to famous scientists and inserted a long digression on the horn of the unicorn, the medical properties of which he had never seen proved by experience. Northleigh (1702) described the exotic animals he saw at Honselaarsdijk, commented on plants growing by the wayside and gave a detailed account of what interested him in the collection of natural history at Leiden, the complete catalogue of which was printed by Mountague (1696). Veryard's journal (1701) combined the old and the new; besides Guicciardini's description of the way the inhabitants of Terschelling caught seals, he included original comments on the poisonous fumes produced in the melting of lead ashes, and on an experiment at the chemical laboratory at the university of Leiden. His accuracy on the more traditional subjects left much to be desired and the index "of the natural and of the more curious remarks" at the end of his book leaves no doubt as to which information he considered more essential. The words in his preface are a fine illustration of the spirit in which he and his colleagues set out on their travels:

The age we live in has blessed us with a great variety of new discoveries, tending to the improvement and perfection of arts and sciences; and indeed the learned are still emulously contending who shall bring most to the common treasury. Hence it is that the learning of the ancients is become almost (if not quite) useless.⁴⁶

The numerous book reviews in the introduction to Churchill's collection of travels may give us an impression of what readers at the end of the seventeenth century expected of a travel book. Locke made the

following points. A book of travels should be reliable and useful and should provide readers with more than the usual geographical and historical information. The account could be made more pleasant by stories and by sketches, if possible made on the spot. Eyewitness accounts and original subject matter (e.g. information on exotic countries, natural history, antiquities, rarities) were greatly appreciated. The whole should be methodically written, in a style that fitted the subject, i.e. a plain style would do. According to a reviewer in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Ray's book was a success. The author, who had originally only intended to publish a catalogue of wild plants growing in Europe, had added to it a narrative of the journey to appeal to a wider public and had succeeded in offering something of interest to many different groups of travellers:

This curious and very instructive itinerary may well serve as a pattern for travellers [...] Let his reader be a statesman, an ecclesiastic, a philosopher, an artist, a tradesman, a father of a family, an husbandman; they will all of them find matter in this book very proper for their respective genius, professions and callings.⁴⁷

Sources

Although many travellers insist on the importance of eyewitness accounts, they did not at all object to the intensive use of guidebooks, on the contrary. Guidebooks "put young travellers in mind of what [was] most worthy their observation", provided background information, and also helped them in their writing. A young man like Howell, who had to write an essay on the Netherlands for his patron, did not produce something original, but copied and summarized the information he needed from contemporary reference books, as is intimated at the end of his essay: "Thus have I huddled up some observations of the Low Countries, beseeching your Lordship would be pleased to pardon the imperfections and correct the errors of them." A young man on an educational journey in Europe who succeeded in composing a well-documented account on a foreign country without making too many errors had every reason to be satisfied. Tourists wishing to return with journals that were up to standard simply could not do without guidebooks. Joseph Shaw told his readers what method he followed when composing his journal:

In my travelling I always carried with me seven or eight books, and indeed all the best books that I knew treated of the places I designed

for; when I came to any town I immediately read over all what everyone of those books said concerning that town, and then made it my business carefully and diligently to view all those things, with whatever else I could hear was remarkable in that place; upon my own sight all what I found really and truly remarkable I immediately clapped into my journal and omitted all the rest.⁴⁸

Foreign tourists travelling in Holland could find their information in a large number of books. Firstly, there was the monumental description of the Netherlands by the Italian diplomat Ludovico Guicciardini, together with many similar books containing descriptions of Holland and the other provinces (in Latin), written by Dutch scholars. Secondly, there were special guidebooks, many of them authentic accounts of journeys (in French, Latin and English). Those interested in further reading could choose from a vast number of works on Dutch history and topography, written in the principal European languages, as Howell indicated in his *Instructions*: "Jean Petit in French is an approved author, Guicciardin, Don Carles [sic] Coloma in Spanish and Sir Roger Williams in English with others." Leake mentioned Grotius, Merula, Hornius, Basnage, Daniel, Le Vasseur, Strada, Thuanus and Collier's dictionary. There are also Bentivoglio, Temple, Feltham and much more expensive illustrated works like the atlases by Mercator and Blaeu, or the very well-documented compilation *The English Atlas* etc., but it would lead us too far afield to attempt to discuss all of them. We shall limit this survey to those books in Latin, French and English which were most readily available to tourists.⁴⁹

In 1567, Ludovico Guicciardini published his *Description of All the Netherlands*, which was to remain in print in various languages until 1660. Its information concerning the United Provinces was brought up to date and greatly added to in 1612 by Petrus Montanus, and from 1635 it was available in duodecimo volumes, very practical for travellers. The book consisted of a number of chapters on the country in general (a geographical description and information on the people and the government), followed by detailed descriptions of each province with its cities. An extensive historical description of the province of Holland alone was *Batavia* (1588), by Hadrianus Junius, a book much consulted by Isham.⁵⁰

Detailed descriptions of individual cities were also available (e.g. Amsterdam by Pontanus, 1611; Fokkens, 1662; Dapper, 1663; Von Zesen, 1664; Van Domselaer, 1665; and Commelin, 1693; Leiden by Orlers, 1614 and Meursius, 1625), but few tourists would have needed

them, as the essential information could be found in many small books dealing with the whole country or at least the province of Holland. Scriverius' *Respublica Hollandiae et urbes* (1630) was a very popular book; it included texts by Grotius (on the history of the republic), Merula (a brief discussion of the States General and the States of Holland), Guicciardini's description of Holland and Zeeland, with Latin poems by Caspar Barlaeus in praise of the cities, and a complete list of all the 34 counts these provinces had had in the course of history. The index at the end made it very practical for tourists. *Belgii confoederati respublica* (1630) by J. de Laet dealt with all the provinces and was more up to date; it provided many of the additions to the 1660 edition of Guicciardini. Boxhorn's *Theatrum Hollandiae* (1632), which again limited itself to Holland, was in quarto. It included clear maps of the towns and gave much information to tourists interested in history and inscriptions. Helpful guides for those who wanted to find out about the government of the United Provinces were *Commentariolus de statu confoederatarum provinciarum Belgii* (1649) by the same author and *Leo Belgicus* (1660), a compilation by Philip von Zesen, neither of which contained descriptions of individual cities. Schoockius' *Belgium federatum* (1652) also offered a wealth of information on all sorts of subjects connected with the United Provinces.⁵¹

Many tourists must have known Gölnitz' *Compendium geographicum* (1643), which dealt with all the countries of Europe, but the ten pages on the United Provinces may have been too brief a survey for serious travellers, particularly since there were only a few descriptions of cities. Far more could be found in *Les Délices de la Hollande* by Jean de Parival (1651), who confined himself to the province of Holland. This book was often reprinted and added to, the last edition dates from 1728. In his preface, the author stated he had taken his information from Boxhorn, Strada, Pontanus and others. The first six chapters deal with the origin of Holland and provide a geographical description of the country with a discussion of customs, trade and taxes. The next 15 chapters each describe a town or a region of the province of Holland, not in the traditional order followed by Guicciardini and others (i.e. the order of importance they had in the States), but starting with Leiden, the city which had become Parival's home town in Holland and about which he had far more to say than about Amsterdam and Rotterdam put together. This is followed by 11 more chapters on religion, the nobility, liberty, justice and government, government colleges, the admiralty, navigation, the last voyage to Nova Zembla,

other voyages (to the Indies), a chapter containing several subjects, among which the revenues of Amsterdam and how to travel from Amsterdam to Leiden, and finally a chapter on the alliances with foreign states. Part II contains a detailed history of the counts of Holland (from Scriverius). From 1678 on, the book comprised numerous maps of towns and a general map of "Belgium sive inferior Germania". An English version of this book can be found in *The Present State of the United Provinces* (1669), part of which is entitled "The Delights of Holland". It was compiled by "the elegant pen of a virtuoso of the Royal Society", William Aglionby, who later became secretary to the English envoy at The Hague.⁵²

Another guidebook was Boussingault's *La Guide universelle de tous les Pays Bas* (c.1660), which contained descriptions of all the towns in the 17 provinces as in Guicciardini, but also provided some practical information on distances and the cost of transport. This book was reprinted several times in the 1670s. A guidebook in English, which appeared under various titles from 1688 on, was *An Accurate Description of the United Netherlands* by William Carr, who stated he had been English consul at Amsterdam. After some remarks on the 1672 war, for which according to him the Dutch themselves were to blame, he described the route English travellers usually took in Holland, from Helvoetsluis or Brielle to Rotterdam and from there to The Hague and Amsterdam. He not only gave descriptions of the towns but also indicated the cost of transport (pp. 6-14). After his long description of Amsterdam (pp. 14-29), which includes a picture of the stadhuis and a detailed discussion of the provisions for the poor, he dealt with several subjects concerning the whole country. There are long passages on the Admiralty, the East-India Company, taxes, laws against fraud and some of the people's customs. The book is written in a rambling style, contains many long anecdotes and is not subdivided into chapters. The timetable of passage-boats and waggons (pp. 65-70) must have been very practical for travellers.⁵³

In 1697 J.B. Christyn, who lived in Brussels, published *Les Délices des Pays-Bas*, a book in several volumes, the 7th edition of which appeared in 1786. Thornhill bought it for 3 guilders in Ghent or Antwerp. Christyn followed Guicciardini's method, describing each of the 17 provinces and its cities. This book contained illustrations of the principal sights but did not provide any other practical information for travellers, as did Boussingault and Carr. Finally there is *A New Description of Holland and the Rest of the United Provinces in General* (1701),

which resembles Carr in its informal tone and borrows much from Mountague, another guidebook. However, *A New Description* is far more systematically written and its subject matter is arranged as in Parival. The first seven chapters are about the United Provinces in general, its geographical situation, the government, the Prince of Orange and his authority, the province of Holland in general, "the manners, laws, customs and religion of the Hollander" (very original) and trade. Then there are four chapters describing Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and the other large cities of Holland, with at the end of the book a brief survey of the remaining six provinces.⁵⁴

Apart from these guidebooks, there are several published travel accounts which provided tourists with information about the United Provinces. In his *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum* (1628), which was reprinted several times, G. Hegenitius paid much attention to historical monuments and (like Boxborn, 1632) printed a large number of inscriptions he had seen in Friesland, Holland and Brabant. Descriptions of towns in Holland (much from Parival) could also be found in I. Sincerus, *Itinerarium Galliae* (1655) and *Les Voyages de Mr. Payen* (1663), which included some information on the cost of transport and lodging. Far more impressive and hardly a book to be carried around by tourists, was the *Journal des voyages* of Monconys (1666), which contained indexes on many subjects (much on arts and sciences). The account by Charles Patin (1673), who was also keen on all sorts of collections, is by comparison a rather slight work as regards the section on Holland. Most other published travel journals of later tourists are in the same scholarly tradition, among them Ray (1673), Browne (1676), Misson (correspondence; 1691), Veryard (1701) and Northleigh (1702). However, William Mountague, who described his tour in Holland, Utrecht and Zeeland (1696), and Joseph Shaw (1709), did not only write instructive books on Holland but also succeeded in making them pleasant reading.

Shaw was irritated by the "innumerable mistakes [and] trifling observations" he found in his guidebooks but he did not identify the culprits. Blainville, whose book was edited for the press after his death, was less charitable and among those he blamed for their blunders and omissions were Browne, Veryard, the Duke de Rohan but particularly Misson, "who seems to value himself so much upon his exactness". However, it looks as if the majority of tourists appreciated the small volumes which told them what they needed to know, assisted them in forming a picture of the country and gave many of them considerable

assistance in composing their travel journals. On entering the Maas, Joseph Taylor looked frequently into his guidebook so as not to miss anything important: "I stood upon the deck with Misson in my hand and had an infinite satisfaction whilst I examined the copy of the original." Guidebooks were possibly mentioned to show that the tourist had taken the trip seriously and had read the standard authors. Skippon referred to Boxhorn's *Commentariolus*, Isham mentioned Guicciardini, and Browne in his description of the New Church at Amsterdam, refers to Parival many lengthy passages of whose book he had used in his own.⁵⁵

Sir John Reresby belongs to the great majority of writers of travel journals, both published and in manuscript, who did not mention their sources by name. Still, he clearly used a guidebook from which he copied several passages in Latin, only the beginning of which he translated into English. His text comes from John Barclay's *Icon animorum*, a book with comments on most European nations. Mountague does not once mention Carr, who provided him with the bulk of his information, neither does Veryard refer to Guicciardini, Parival and Temple, his main sources. The anonymous tourist of 1710 fails to reveal that the paragraphs in French with information on various cities were taken from Baudrand and that the remainder of his journal was heavily indebted to Misson. Another tourist copied or translated passages from Browne in French and Evelyn must have had a copy of Parival (or Aglionby) with him when he wrote about the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam that it looked like "a city in a wood".⁵⁶

To show how difficult it was for travellers to resist copying a fine phrase or image from their guidebooks, we shall look at several descriptions of the canals in Rotterdam, which at the same time comment on the proverbial Dutch cleanliness, a literary topos which had already appeared in Erasmus' *Auris Batava* (1508). Ray wrote about Rotterdam, one of the first big cities he saw in Holland:

The streets are elegantly paved in the middle with stone and on each side next the houses, with brick set edgeways, so clean that a man may walk them in slippers without wetting his foot in the midst of winter.

In Browne this became: "the streets are so clean that the women go about in white slippers." Misson's version was: "Their streets are so clean that you see the women walk almost constantly in them in their slippers." A student from Utrecht who used Misson as a guidebook later wrote:

There are broad quays or causeways paved with white brick set edge-wise, which are kept as clean as any of our courtyards in England so that one may walk all over the town even in winter in a pair of slippers, without being in the least offended with dirt.⁵⁷

Misson's description of the canals in this city was also appreciated:

We were not a little surprised with the first sight of Rotterdam, for its canals being for the most part so deep and broad that they are capable of receiving vessels of a great bulk, this affords the most agreeable prospect of a mixture of trees, tops of lofty houses and masts at a distance.

The student from Utrecht introduced "green trees" and "in summer", whereas Farrington adapted the second part of the passage as follows: "at a distance the vanes of ships, the tops of chimneys and the waving of the boughs of trees make a very pleasant show." Taylor combined the various elements we have mentioned and wrote with the assistance of Misson about his stay in Rotterdam:

Notwithstanding it had rained in the morning, the women whose habit after the Dutch manners are very neat, walked with slippers as dry as if there had been no wet weather, the streets being generally paved with Flanders bricks. Nothing can be more surprising than the pretty mixture of trees, masts of ships and chimneys altogether, which makes it look rather like a forest than a town; besides, the pleasant canals that run through every street and the shady walks on each side of them render the prospect so charming, that I must acknowledge I was perfectly ravished with the beauty of those various objects which at once presented themselves to my eye.⁵⁸

Writers of travel journals not only took over bits of information on the sights and the descriptions of what the cities looked like, some of them also modelled their anecdotes on what they had read elsewhere. Shaw tells that during his visit to an old women's home in Amsterdam he met a 104-year-old woman, who did not accept the guilder piece he offered her, saying she did not need it and "knew not what to do with it". This scene strongly resembles Temple's account of an old seaman in Enkhuizen, who was so well looked after in his old men's home that he refused the money Temple offered him: "this was a poor man that wanted nothing at all." Thomas Penson's account of the visit he paid to the Long Cellar at Amsterdam may well have been modelled on Coryat's visit to a courtesan in Venice, about which

Coryat wrote at length and which formed the subject of one of the illustrations in his *Crudities*.⁵⁹

Even ideas presented by the traveller as his own may have been directly inspired by his reading. Mountague expressed his conviction that there was a lot the English should learn from the Dutch, especially as to financial affairs. Since in Holland arbitration was possible between creditors and debtors, bankrupts were not immediately put in prison as in England, where their estates were always ruined. "This is conduct, this is management, this is prudence to be praised. But when will the English nation be so happy to imitate them in this? Truly, I fear, never." The source of this digression can be found in the guide-book written by William Carr, according to whom it was customary in England to turn "a man into a prison for a crown, or if it may be for nothing at all; if he cannot find bail he may lie and starve there [...], an abominable abuse". Chiswell's remark that the monuments of admirals in the churches served to encourage others also seems to come from Carr as does Northleigh's indignant comment on the music houses.⁶⁰

The use of sources is most obvious in the general observations. James Howell made extensive use of *The Politia of the United Provinces* and Sir Thomas Overbury's *Observations*, essays to which there are no accompanying travel journals. Overbury, for instance, wrote about Holland: "They still retain that sign of a commonwealth yet uncorrupted, private poverty and public wealth; for no one private man there is exceeding rich, and few very poor, and no state more sumptuous in all public things." Howell adapted this remark and used it in his discussion of commerce, in which according to him every Dutchman was involved: "This universality of trade and their banks of adventures, distributes the wealth so equally that few among them are exceeding rich or exceeding poor." James Fraser copied most of Owen Feltham's *A Brief Character of the Low Countries* by way of observations on the people, and Temple, who said that his observations differed from those "of all common travellers", as he was studying the causes of Holland's riches and not only the effects, owed more than one passage to Parival. The author of *A Late Voyage to Holland* concluded his account of the journey with long passages from Temple on the state and Feltham on the people.⁶¹

While incidental borrowings are thus very common in finished travel journals, it sometimes happens that the whole tone reflects that of the sources, which generally presented Holland and its cities in a

favourable light. Towns and monuments are called magnificent, fine or beautiful, and it is only very occasionally that we come across a tourist like William Nicolson, who does not take for granted all the superlatives used in the guidebooks. Especially in published accounts, incidental criticism is completely outweighed by admiration. Browne's final paragraph on Holland, containing distinct echoes from Temple and entitled (in the Dutch edition) "Praise of Holland", represents it almost as an ideal country:

Though I had seen France and Italy and the noble cities thereof, which are worthily admired by all, yet I was much surprised upon the first sight of the United Provinces, especially of Holland and the adjoining places. He that has observed the easy accommodation for travel therein, both by land and water, their excellent order and regular course in all things; the number of learned men; the abundance of varieties in all kinds; the industry, frugality and wealth of the people; their numerous good towns; their extraordinary neatness in their buildings and houses; their proper laws and administration of justice and their incredible number of shipping and boats, will think it an omission to rest in the sight of other countries without a view of this. A country of little extent and soon travelled over but so replenished with people, with good cities, fair towns and villages as not to be met with upon so little a compass of ground, except perhaps in China.⁶²

The travel journal as a personal document

Travellers in Holland, who often stuck to the same itineraries and who all described identical sights, produced journals which, not unnaturally, closely resemble each other. The use of a small number of guidebooks, from which passages were copied or adapted, makes them even more similar. Still, each journal remains a personal record of a particular journey made by an individual at a specific time. Two people who travelled in each other's company did not produce identical accounts, as is demonstrated by those written by Mrs. Burnet and her daughter. There is a striking difference between the dutiful account of the sights, produced by the young person, and the mother's far more lively comments on sights and people.

Although the author sometimes makes his (or her) presence felt, there are many journals in which he is almost invisible, and it is only small details which seem to tell us more about his personality. One such element is the use of language. Thomas Penson, the arms painter, about whom little is known, found it very difficult to produce decent

prose, whereas Moryson and Coryat, scholars steeped in the classics, seem to have been able to write effortlessly. Comparisons made by tourists also reveal something of their background. In his letters Edward Browne often refers to his native Norwich; Dawes writes about "the Eton-like university of Leiden" and when Sir John Reresby sees a Dutch *trekschuit* he is reminded of the "passage boats of Hull". The subject matter of the journals tells us much more. Although in well-documented accounts it is often difficult to decide to what extent the text reflects the personal interests of the tourist, it would seem that Moryson was more keen on history and politics than Northleigh, for whom scholarship meant the study of the natural world. Lord Fitzwilliam spent more time than others inspecting fortifications; inscriptions were important to Child and Nicolson, and Farrington seems to have had a genuine liking for fine art. The interests of Brereton, Hope and Mure were not so cultural. Brereton comes across as a country squire, keen on improving his estate. Like Hope he cared more for newly invented machinery than historical monuments, and during his visit to Loosduinen he seems to have paid as much attention to a number of camels that happened to pass by, as to the monument itself. William Mure noted the daily collection of litter in Rotterdam and his longest entry on Amsterdam bears on a fellow Scot, who had managed to marry the widow of a rich East-India merchant.⁶³

Some tourists explicitly stated their opinions. A few of them occasionally added philosophical or moral reflections to their remarks on the sights. Evelyn associated the vast stretches of land in Zeeland, which had "been swallowed up by the sea", with the deluge and he commented with an apposite phrase from Ovid. Taylor wrote about his visit to Dordt:

They showed me the famous De Witt's house, where I made this reflection: that it is the greatest vanity to affect the character of a leading man, since after it is attained the next moment may rob us of it and deliver us into the power of the headstrong multitude.

However, this sort of comment may be less revealing about the travellers' personal convictions than the far more frequent instances in which they show their religious and political bias. It looks as if Coryat and Northleigh felt obliged to make it clear to their mainly Protestant readers that they had not been tainted by sympathy for Catholicism. In his description of Nijmegen, the former was not even sure whether it

was proper to mention the “arch-Papist” Peter Canisius. Northleigh expressed his reservations about the English dissenters with their objections to the use of organs in church. The merchant Richard Chiswell could not help making an irritated reference to the many nonconformist British students of theology at Utrecht, who back in England would only cause more “separations and divisions”. Moryson, who comes across as a serious Protestant, stressed the need for Holland and England to remain allies. Browne paid a compliment to the valour of the Duke of York, but did not reprint the passage after 1689; Shaw openly criticized the Tories, who had driven so many political refugees to Holland, and William Mountague stated in his preface that he had made some reflections “only to open the eyes of my countrymen, to see and pursue their own true interest”. In his book he praised the Dutch for their sober life-style and their willingness to work hard.⁶⁴

Clearly, it is possible, by just looking at the text, to gain some insight, however small, into the background and opinions of a traveller, but we will never get a complete picture of him as a tourist in Holland. Most of what happened, e.g. the events involving the traveller himself, meetings with other people, missing a trekschuit, and making purchases were left out of the travel account. Judging from what was recorded, the tourist consisted mainly of a pair of eyes, a hand to note down the visual impressions and a pair of feet to carry the body from one place to another. Many travel journals are like a collection of picture postcards, which (of course) do not show the traveller himself. In a number of short accounts like those by William Bagot and Montague Drake the traveller himself is only discernable in the repeated use of the personal pronouns I or we. Tourists who wrote more extensively can be divided into two groups. A large number (usually scholars) were highly conscious of the fact that they were composing a travel journal and concentrated on giving information on foreign countries; only rarely did they mention their personal background as Henry Piers and Thomas Penson did in their prefaces. The second group comprises people like Brereton, Bowrey, Hope and Anon. 1695-99, none of them scholars. Their relatively extensive journals are closely related to private diaries and once they had started writing they did not bother too much about literary conventions and included far more about themselves than the others.⁶⁵

For twentieth-century readers who want to know what travellers really thought about what they saw, the seventeenth-century travel journal is only of limited value. A number of tourists must have given

sober and truthful accounts of their journeys, but more sophisticated authors like Mountague, Shaw and Taylor seem to herald a later conception of the travel journal (and correspondence). They may well have added details from their imagination or their reading, consciously introducing narrative episodes to make their accounts more readable. Authors of seventeenth-century travel accounts followed literary conventions and their aim was to demonstrate to those who had remained at home that they had profited from their travels.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

In each group of sources we have studied, the journey in Holland is seen from a different angle. A traveller who kept a private diary often noted down more about his personal activities such as reading and social contacts than about travelling. In memoirs, the journey is seen from a distance and usually remembered for only one or two events. It is only in travel journals (and correspondence, in which there is a little more room for remarks of a personal nature), that the tour itself is the main subject. Detailed descriptions of cities mentioning sights and historical anecdotes are linked by a chronological narrative. The journal is often concluded by a number of general observations on the country and its inhabitants. Although in the course of the century travellers became increasingly interested in modern arts and sciences, the emphasis in these observations remained on the geography and history of the country described. There is usually little in the way of personal experiences. Seventeenth-century travel journals cannot be treated as simple eyewitness accounts, since tourists when writing up their journals or preparing them for publication used a number of literary techniques, among which a fair amount of copying from guidebooks. A tendency towards a more personalised, less erudite way of presenting a travel account can be found in travel correspondence written around 1700. Here the traveller himself becomes more prominent. It would seem that by the end of the century a growing number of readers preferred to see foreign countries through the eyes of somebody like themselves and not through those of a deadly serious scholar who talked like a book. However, in the majority of travel accounts the reader has little opportunity to feel involved with the person who shows him around, since the emphasis in seventeenth-century travel journals was on the countries visited and their purpose was to instruct.

NOTES

¹ Ponsonby, 40-41, estimates that in the 17th century 20-25% of educated people kept diaries; Fothergill, 14-15 distinguishes 4 kinds of diaries: travel journals, public journals, journals of conscience and journals of personal memoranda; Delany, 63-65, mentions a 17th-century book on how to write a personal journal of conscience.

² Religious introspection e.g. Erskine, 182, quoted in chap. 4, n. 82; Thoresby, 18-19, on board sailing to Holland: "July 7, Die Dom. Upon our voyage all day, but through sea-sickness and the depravity of my heart, had not such holy thoughts as ought to have been in one that has so many mercies daily bestowed upon him"; Forbes, 31.

³ Thoresby, 18-19; Erskine, 196; the whole journey occupies pp. 196-207.

⁴ Pepys, xlv; idem, 150; references to sex life as an ordinary fact of life are rare, cf. Fothergill, 99, in Pepys "there is no confessional air to these passages".

⁵ Various terms: autobiography (Herbert), journal (Yonge), life (Clarendon); Evelyn wrote for his grandson, cf. Evelyn, I, 84-85; Reresby for the "posterity of his own family", cf. *Memoirs*, 286; Temple's memoirs were originally intended for his son (cf. *Works*, I, 373: "I [...] will leave you some memoirs of what has passed in my public employments") and "the satisfaction of my friends" (I, 331); George Carleton, 92, stated he did not want to devote space to "inglorious activity"; cf. Delany, 89ff.; Harvey, 140-42; Herbert, 54; Caton and Stubbs, cf. Barbour, 29; Penn, 96, included part of his correspondence with Princess Elizabeth (passim) and reported on his visit to the Labadist community.

⁶ Cf. Marambaud, 277-78; Yonge, 17, wrote: "I digested out of the rude memoirs of my common journal [...] a more regular and exact narrative of the more memorable accidents of my life"; Clarendon, 976-79; Clerk, 19: "I do not mention any particulars of this journey, because I have written particular memoirs of my travels to which I refer"; Cuningham, 230-31.

⁷ Cf. Delany, 110-12; he mentions De Thou, *Historia sui temporis* (publ. from 1604) as a model for Burnet's *History*; Marambaud, 280-81, mentions the published memoirs of De Rohan (1644) and d'Estrées (1666) as models for Temple; for Quakers, cf. Delany, 98-102; Haistwell, 238; Fox, II, 267; in his account on The Hague, Fox, II, 311, concentrated on the long talk he had with a judge, "who parted with us in much love"; cf. Haistwell, 253.

⁸ Reresby, cf. chap. 2, n. 37; G.B. Parks, in *Travel as Education*, 279-80 does not sufficiently realize that the change of perspective and the demands of a different literary genre can bring about important changes of emphasis; Burnet, *Original Memoirs*, 93; idem, *Autobiography*, 467; idem, *History*, I, 229 (1818 ed.); the dates given in the text indicate when he wrote the passages, cf. Burnet, Foxcroft, viii, xv, 513.

⁹ Cf. G.B. Parks, *John Evelyn and the Art of Travel*; for Evelyn's account, cf. infra; Cuningham, 229; Temple, *Works* (1720), I, 385-86; on cleanliness, I, 472; Yonge, 93-100; Raymond, 40-44; Hall, I, xxxiii; Sibbald, 56-58.

¹⁰ P. Osborne, 112; Lorkin, cf. chap. 2, p. 98; Stanhope, 11: "Pour la description des villes de Flandres que vous me demandez, je crois qu'il serait assez inutile de vous l'envoyer, car vous la savez déjà mieux que moi par des personnes qui en ont pu mieux juger; et pour des réflexions, je n'en ai pu faire aucune, car vous savez qu'elles doivent être faites plutôt sur les personnes que sur les choses"; Perth, 47; 41.

¹¹ Molyneux, 314; cf. Forster, 116, Shaftesbury to Mr. Wilkinson travelling in Holland: "I would have you write more in your letters and try your own ingenuity in writing me what remarks you can and what observations you make."

¹² Howell, *Instructions*, 27-28; Howell, *F.L.*, xv-xvi: "He teaches a new way of epistolising and that familiar letters may not only consist of words and bombast of compliments, but that they are capable of the highest speculations and solidest kind of knowledge"; Anthony Wood, III, 744 (1817 ed.) said he believed Howell was "well read in modern histories, especially in those of the countries wherein he had travelled", however, he thought many of the letters "were never written before the author of them was in the Fleet [...] and purposely published to gain money"; Howell, *F.L.*, 17: "Indeed we should write as we speak [...]."

¹³ Coryat's account of his travels to the Middle East and India were published in the form of four letters to a friend (1616); cf. Chupeau, 550-51, for other (French) travel accounts in letters before 1680; Burnet, *O.M.*, 251; idem, *Some Letters*, 295-98; detailed subject index in Dutch edition, Utrecht, 1687; cf. Chupeau, 549, letters look more authentic than memoirs; the critic was Lowndes in *Lowndes' Modern Traveller*, a collection of travels, publ. 1776-77: "This curious and entertaining narrative surpasses everything in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter and method. The observations and impostures of popery will afford pleasure to every consistent Protestant", as quoted in Cox, I, 110; on Burnet's letters, cf. Laubriet and Beckmann, I, 136; on Misson, La Crose, Dec. 1691, pp. 191-96; for an extensive discussion of Misson and the tradition of familiar letters in connection with travel, cf. Harder, 21-78; 284-91; d'Aulnoy, titles, cf. bibliography; a Dutch edition was "improved" by its editor, the letter form was dropped, the adventures were left out and more statistics were added; also very lively are S. Sorbière's *Journey to England* (1666, French ed.) and the travel correspondence by Hortense des Jardins (1668). On pp. 305-335 she describes Holland in a very personal way, her conversational style is far more lively than that of Howell; cf. Chupeau, 551, on French travel accounts at the end of the 17th century: "La primauté donnée à l'aventure moderne et à la découverte du présent relègue la tradition humaniste du voyage érudit dans une situation marginale"; cf. Careri, 133 (letter 26): "I am so desirous to please and divert you, by giving an account of all that occurs in my travels, that [...] I could not forbear writing to and acquainting you with all my adventures"; in *The Hague* (132) he did not give detailed descriptions of the interiors of the court, "to avoid tediousness".

¹⁴ Farrington, 28; Kenyon, cf. chap. 2, p. 88; Taylor (1707), 82-83.

¹⁵ Cf. William Walsh: "The style of letters should be free, easy and natural, as near approaching to familiar conversation as possible. The best qualities in conversation are good humour and good breeding; those letters therefore are certainly the best that show the most of these two qualities" (Preface to *Letters and Poems Amorous and Gallant*, London, 1692); cf. Shaw, 8-9: "I thought I heard the signal for an attack that would probably put an end to my travels with my life and immediately cocked my pistols."

¹⁶ The term journal is used here to avoid confusion with personal diaries; J.R. Hale in his introduction to the journal of De Beatis, has many valuable remarks on the tradition of European travel accounts; accounts of journeys by royalty and diplomats, e.g. Unton, Hoby, Shirley, Pett, Crowne and *A Late Voyage* (1691). For a discussion of the travel journal as a literary genre see M. van Strien-Chardonneau, "*Le voyage de Hollande*". *Récits de voyageurs français dans les Provinces-Unies*, chap. 4.

¹⁷ Advice on keeping a diary, Francis Bacon, *Of Travel*; Robert Dallington, *Method for Travel*, cf. Lambert, chap. 3; cf. "A Memorial for Thomas Cecil" (1561), written by his father Lord Burghley, which ends with this advice: "I would that you keep a book like a journal, entering into the same every night all your passages in the day, with the things of moment of that day's travel; and remember this, that although many things worthy your remembrance may appear so fresh to you as you think not need to enter the same into your book, yet trust not your memory therewith but commit it to writing in such sort as at your return you may see as in a calendar your whole doings and travel" (Wright, 6); cf. Moryson, III, 10: "And because the memory is weak and those who write much are many times like the clerks that carry their learning in their book, not in their brain, let him constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or hears, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his own [...] In the mean time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakness of memory let him carefully note all rare observations"; Moryson, III, 10: "Let him write these notes each day at morn and at even in his inn, within writing tables carried about him and after at leisure into a paper book, that many years after he may look over them at his pleasure"; similar remark (16th-cent.) quoted by Maćzak, 316; cf. instructions for Nicolson: "To carry a table book in your pocket in which to note all that is memorable as you pass up and down. Every night to draw out that into a journal book in plain English etc. without fashion or curiosity, that the style injure it not. To write constantly and at large of all you observe or learn that is curious of any kind"; Gailhard, 37; Style, 17, apologizes for the contents of his journal "composed but of a few loose papers which nothing can excuse the expense of binding up but a father's command".

¹⁸ Howell wrote his *Survey of the Seventeen Provinces* (F.L., 115-29) for his patron Lord Colchester and Nicolson, 1v, addressed his journal to Secretary Williamson; Piers, 3, wrote in his introduction: "I have in my rude manner here following set down a true declaration, partly for my own satisfaction and partly for the good of those (either travellers or other) who shall peruse the same"; foreign language, Reresby, Fraser, Anon. 1710; tutor who wrote journal, e.g. Leake; servant, Moody, Crowne, cf. Frank-Van Westrienen, 65; Penson, 1-3, the list with the dates on which the MS was lent or returned contains the names, addresses and occupations of about 70 people mainly in London; Thomas Platter, I, xi, read his journal to guests at home; Mundy, I, 2; at the end of his journal Chiswell, 55v, wrote: "I leave in the most strict charge that no part of these journals be ever lent out to read or suffered to be printed", the following note has been added in another hand: "I conceive this injunction was meant to prevent any reflection being cast upon Mr. Maundrell for some imperfections in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, printed 1707."

¹⁹ Cf. Cox, who lists more than 100 different publications in English in the 17th century; among the most popular collections were Hakluyt (1598-1600), Purchas (1625), Thevenot (1666-72), Ray (1693), Commelin (1703), Churchill (1704) and Harris (1705); cf. Mundy, I, 5-6.

²⁰ Ray, Epistle dedicatory, distinguishes between the "brief narrative of our whole voyage" and "some observations topographical, moral and natural"; Veryard and Mountague use the term "remarks" for the descriptive aspect; Batten uses this distinction throughout.

²¹ Child, 178, 9r.

²² Anon. 1699, 12; cf. Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 228); Browne, 91; 111; Northleigh must have travelled in 1686, cf. 719. In Gent "they were then celebrating the exequiae for all the Christian souls that had lost their lives in the siege of Buda, with standards, armours, banners and all sorts of music"; Shaw must have travelled in 1700, cf. his reference (11) to "the Prince of Friesland", who was then "about thirteen years old", i.e. Johan Willem Friso (1687-1711); cf. Batten, 68.

²³ Moody, 37; in Browne's book, 94, there is no trace of his visit to Alphen; Ray, 33; Skippon, 403; the sanctuary was mentioned in Hegenitius, 79-81 (1667 ed.); Coryat, 361.

²⁴ Bowrey's accounts, which are much more complete than the expenses mentioned in his journal, are on 76-79; some of Neville's accounts precede his journal; Anon. 1669, 52r ff.; cf. Moryson, To the reader: "For the first part of this work, it contains only a brief narration of daily journeys, with the rates of coaches or horses hired, the expenses for horse's and man's meat [...] You may perhaps judge the writing of my daily expenses in my journeys to be needless and unprofitable, in respect of the continual change of prices and rates in all kingdoms; but they can never be more subject to change than the affairs of martial and civil policy, in both which the oldest histories serve us this day to good use."

²⁵ Evelyn travelled to Holland with "one Mr. Carill" (*Vita*, 22) but in his account of the journey his use of the personal pronoun I does not necessarily mean that he was alone; cf. "I went to the Queen of Bohemia's court" (*Kal.*, 33) and "We first went to the Q. of Bohemia's [...] Court" (*Vita*, 25); Anon. 1699, 12, between the accounts of two journeys there are some notes on letters he received from England; the list opens with two Mr. Hills, Messrs. Browne, Cartault, De la Faye, Montgomery, Simpson, Longville, Henly, Yarnier, Mills, Boyle, Lord Hastings etc.; Brockman's list of Dutch addresses included those of Furly, the Rev. Jos. Hill, Pierre Bayle (at Rotterdam), the Rev. John Shower (at Utrecht) and Mr. Yvon at Wieuwerd; cf. Churchill, I, lxxvi, where Locke discusses Monconys, his only critical remark is: "It is in some measure imperfect and has many particulars of no use to any one but himself; which there is no doubt he would have omitted had he lived"; cf. the critic in *Boekzaal* (1697) was surprised that Monconys, 130, mentioned the bakers' blowing the trumpet when the bread came out of the oven; Isham, 39; cf. Moryson, I, 52 (JJ, 241), mentioned some monuments in the church in The Hague and added there were "divers others, which I omit, as having no antiquity or magnificence"; Southwell, 49; Bargrave, 94r; Browne, n. 63, n. 79; Browne, 91, 107; Coryat, 375: "with this thankful commemoration of their names (since I have not as yet any other means to express my gratitude towards them, but only by this remembrance of them in my book)."

²⁶ Cf. Fraser, 93r, the sixth paragraph on Amsterdam begins as follows: "I shall at last set down the contingencies that happened and my observations while I was in and about the city"; cf. Moryson, who included his itinerary through Northern Germany "only for the use of unexperienced travellers passing those ways" (To the reader); Mundy, 58-61; Montfaucon omitted most of the narrative of his journey and personal experiences, cf. Galliano, 194; Skippon, 384.

²⁷ Lithgow's 10th English ed. appeared in 1692 (cf. Cox); Moryson, I, 54-55 (JJ, 245-46); Mandelslo's editor, 283, says he abbreviated the European section as being well-known to readers; quotation, Roger Williams, To the reader, 7; cf. Starr; adventures are absent in scholars' accounts on Holland; cf. stories in Brereton, 24-27; 46-47; Moody, 35-36; Anon. 1662, 35v.

²⁸ For titles cf. Cox; correspondence instead of journals, cf. Chupeau, quoted in n. 13; cf. Bientjes, 257, *Lustige discours*, publ. 1678; Penson, 8 (storm); 26-27 (visit to music house); 34 (account of burglary); Mountague, 3-4.

²⁹ Coryat, 375-76; Isham, R, III, 45; Bargrave's tables of distances are on 101r and 193r, the quotation is from 192r-v; Chalkley, 73, does not only give his total mileage but states that he attended 45 meetings; cf. Leake, 49r: "The next day we went to Canterbury and the Thursday following to London, where at the vicarage house in Stepney I surrendered a charge, which had not been always over-agreeable to me. Laus Deo Tri. Uni. J.L."

³⁰ Moryson, whose book does not start with descriptions of any great cities, was afraid readers would be disappointed with the "barrenness" of the account (To the Reader); cf. Beatis, introd., 54; according to Bacon the purpose of travel was, "to see the beauty of many cities, know the manners of many countries and learn the language of many nations" (cf. Parks, *Travel as Education*, 266).

³¹ Bowrey's account contains far more personal details than most others, his visit to Amsterdam is related in seven daily entries and not in one static description as is often the case; cf. Moryson, I, 17: "When he will observe the situation of any city, let him (if he may without jealousy of the inhabitants) first climb one of the highest steeples"; rules, cf. n. 17, works on the art of travel; also E.G.R. Taylor, 39-40 and Robert Hooke's guidelines concerning the descriptions in *The English Atlas*, Nicolson (ed. Hoftijzer), 83, n. 21; Coryat, 373-74; cf. Fraser, 104r: "This town of Fluishing (say some) has its name from the Roman Vlisses, because the Dutch pronounce it Vlysin-gen; but surely the name is from the situation of it, which is like a bottle or flask, narrow at the mouth and neck and wide within [...]"; Anon. 1706, 11v.

³² Reresby, 124; Carr, 81; Bargrave, 93r: "The general description of Amsterdam (being known to so many) I forbear"; Lithgow did not include Holland in his *Rare Adventures*, because its description was "so amply set down by modern authors that it requires no more" (*Rare Adventures*, 194); cf. also John Taylor the Water Poet, 577; Sandys, 1, left out everything north of Venice, "such being daily surveyed and exactly related"; Mundy, 61-62.

³³ Browne, 92.

³⁴ E.g. catalogues of rarities at Leiden: Rawdon, 103-05; Penson, 15-16; Mountague, 72-95.

³⁵ More anecdotes can be found in chapter 4; advice to introduce anecdotes, cf. Browne, Introd., n. 11; Brockman, 68; Anon. 1691, 8, on an ape who stole a child at Nijmegen; Loosduinen, Anon. 1691, 34: "of which I have a paper"; some historical anecdotes in Coryat, I, 213: "a merry story"; I, 226: "a pretty history"; on Loosduinen, II, 370.

³⁶ Cf. Coryat, I, 11-12, to his critics: "I am a private man and no statist, matters of policy are impertinent to me"; Howell, *Instructions*, 60; cf. Constantijn Huygens to his son Lodewijk: "Of everything that he sees and learns he will keep a diary, similar to, yet fuller than that kept by his brother in Italy, who detailed outward appearances more carefully than matters of state and other things of more importance" (Lod. Huygens, 5); Moryson's account of his journeys in the Un. Prov. occupies about 16 pages, the essays 27; more essays on religion, sciences, universities etc. would have taken another 12 pages of the same size and were only printed in 1903; Fraser, 105r, with the epitaph of Sir Philip Sidney; Brereton, 29-31; Skippon, 394-97; on these essays, cf. also Frank-Van Westrienen, 170-72; the practice of writing on the govern-

ment of a foreign country survived well into the 18th century, cf. *Some Account of the Government of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces* by Lord Chesterfield (1745), in: Stanhope, III, 605-12.

³⁷ There are many 17th-century editions of Temple in French and Dutch, the 7th ed. in English dates from 1705; La Crose, 195, in a discussion of *Some Letters*, says that Burnet, who "had proposed to himself Sir William Temple for a model", was much interested in "the constitutions, laws, customs and government of the several estates through which he travelled"; quotation from Burnet, *Some Letters*, 295; Harris, 50 also expresses deep admiration for Temple; Carr, The Preface: "I easily foresee that it will be soon objected that after so great a man as Sir William Temple, who has already published a full and incomparable description of the policy and government of the State of the United Provinces, it would be a vain presumption to attempt any further on that subject"; Erskine, 195, read Temple before setting out on his journey through the United Provinces; on Browne, Keynes, IV, 34, (22 Sept. 1668); Ray, 43-48, wrote on the common people, their diet, the price of food, the cleanliness of the houses, church services, travel and the fact that the Dutch are afraid of their superiors, gaze at strangers, love money, are not courageous, like singing in church and have independent women; Mountague, 213-22; Anon. 1676, 16-51; Shaw, 43-55, starts with remarks on the people and afterwards deals with the state.

³⁸ Joseph Hall in *Quo Vadis?* as quoted in Rye, xxv: "Let an Italian or French passenger walk through this our island, what can his table-books carry home in comparison of the learned "Britain" of our Camden, or the accurate tables of Speed?"; Samuel Butler, *Characters, A Traveller*; Ferrar, 45: "When he came to his lodgings he regularly entered all his observations in a book which he kept for that purpose"; Mundy, I, 3-5.

³⁹ Nicolson's sketches are on ff. 17r-v; idem, 31r.

⁴⁰ Leake, 14r; another tutor, who elaborated his notes was Blainville.

⁴¹ Improvements, cf. Child on the smell of the canals in chap. 3, n. 10; errors seem to be unavoidable in this genre although the number on Holland is small, possibly because of the abundance of guidebooks; the very accurate Moryson makes one in Part I, 41, where he locates Gorkum in East Friesland: "The country about Embden abounds with villages and from a tower at Goricome [Gorkum] a man may see at once upon a fair day 22 walled towns"; Fraser, 99r, confuses Loosduinen and Leidschendam, which he took for the place of the miracle; Leake, 13r, says admiral Tromp died in a seabattle against the Duke of York; Veryard's errors were pointed out by Blainville, cf. n. 55; open spaces, e.g. Mundy, 62, who did not clearly remember on what market in Rotterdam the statue of Erasmus was to be found; Evelyn, who must have had easy access to reference books, left a blank where he should have inserted the names of the rivers near Dordt (*Kal.*, 32; *Vita*, 24); frontispieces in Piers, Mundy, Moody and Penson (Edinburgh ed.); illustrations, there are many in Mundy, the one of the Great Tun (78) was taken from Coryat; Barlow has 127 ill. in colour and 55 coastlines in black and white, Dineley (or Dingley) has eight pen and ink sketches; Thornhill's sketchbook includes several drawings made in Holland; Fraser, 101r; Talman, 1698, Diary, 6; July-October, passim; Skippon, 393 (engine), 398 (epitaph); Mundy, I, 4; Clerk, 17; the most magnificent 17th-century account of travels in Holland, is that made for Cosimo de Medici, one of the illustrations which folds out, measures 16 x 300 cm. (221-22).

⁴² Isham left out, among other things, the whole section on his stay in Utrecht; Clerk, 20; Evelyn, cf. Stoye, 140; Evelyn, *Kal.*, 35, "lodged that night in a countryman's house", omitted in *Vita*; Flushing, *Kal.*, 31; added in *Vita*, 23: "once cautionary to Queen Elizabeth, when she assisted the distressed Netherlanders on their defection from the tyranny of Spain"; chandelier, *Kal.*, 47 and *Vita*, 33: "This seemed then and was a rarity, before the philosophy of compressed air made it intelligible"; Rijswijk, Evelyn added in the margin: "Here was since that famous convention" (*Vita*, 30); praise of the Dutch, on the hospital for lepers between Delft and Rotterdam (*Kal.*, 33 and *Vita*, 25), Evelyn added that there were few beggars in Holland, "so well are they provided for in workhouses and hospitals, worthy to be imitated"; construction of citadel at Den Bosch (*Kal.*, 58 and *Vita*, 39), Evelyn added after an enumeration of various sorts of pumps: "the Hollanders are the most expert of Europe" at this; drinking, *Kal.*, 38 and *Vita*, 28; Spinhuis, *Kal.*, 43 and *Vita*, 31.

⁴³ Moryson, To the Reader; idem, II, 1: "I had a pleasing opportunity to gather into some order out of confused and torn writings the particular observations of my former travels, to be after more deliberately digested at leisure"; idem, To the Reader: "Remember that the work is first written in Latin, then translated into English and that in divers copies, no man being able by the first copy to put so large a work in good fashion"; idem, The Table.

⁴⁴ Cf. Browne, Introd.; Ray dedicated his book to Skippon, cf. The Epistle Dedicatory: "Having been much assisted in the compiling thereof by your notes and communications, you have so great interest in it, that it is but equal I should present you with it"; idem, 45; travel books were reviewed in the *Philosophical Transactions* (from 1665-66), *Journal des sçavans* (1665), *Acta eruditorum* (1682), *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684), *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686), *Histoire des ouvrages des sçavans* (1687), *Bibliothèque choisie* (1703) to name only the most important; a Dutch review was *Boekzaal van Europe* (1692); prefaces, Bromley; Ray: "I find the phrase and language in many places less ornate and in some scarce congruous. But my main aim having been to render all things perspicuous and intelligible [...], I was less attentive to grammatical and euphonical niceties"; Locke later wrote that the language was "well enough for plain notes of a traveller" (in Churchill, I, xciv, 1732 ed.); cf. plain language in the instructions to Nicolson in n. 17; Coryat, 7-8: "At length post varias cogitationum fluctationes, by the counsel of certain of my dear friends, I put on a constant resolution and determined to expose the abortive fruits of my travels to the sight of the world"; cf. Lassels, preface: "I only discharged my memory hastily of some things that I had seen in Italy and wrapt up that untimely embryo in 5 sheets of paper, for the use of a noble person who set me that task"; Northleigh, The Dedication; Browne, To the Reader, 1687.

⁴⁵ Coryat, 357: "The ancient inhabitants of this country, many years before the incarnation of Christ and after, were called Sicambri, which are mentioned by Caesar and Tacitus; and they were so called either from a queen called Cambra (as Munster writes) or rather (as learned Peucer affirms) quasi sec Cambri, that is, the Cimbri which dwell near the sea"; idem, 370; cf. note 48.

⁴⁶ Ray, Preface, cf. n. 47; Ray, 18; 24-25; 32; 33; Browne, 99; 100; 101-02; Northleigh, 705; 710; 705-06; Mountague, 72-95; Veryard, errors, cf. n. 55; Veryard, 4; 8; 20: "The people disguising themselves with beasts skins or somewhat very like them, by leaping, dancing and divers antic postures draw the fish (which are delighted with these comical gestures) as far from the seaside as possible, whilst others of the

company spread their nets between them and the water; this being done, the dancers throw off their disguise and discover themselves, at which the fish being terrified, return towards the sea and are entangled in the nets"; cf. also (The Preface): "What can be more agreeable to the very Genius of human nature than the satisfactory pleasure we draw from the bare contemplation of the stupendious works of the Divine Wisdom, whilst we employ a profitable as well as pleasing curiosity about the causes and effects of so many phenomena of Nature, and from thence draw rational conjectures of things beyond the reach of vulgar capacities"; for the Royal Society and travel, cf. Frantz.

⁴⁷ Locke in Churchill, I, lxxii-xciv; Ray, Epistle dedicatory: "My first design was only a catalogue of outlandish plants of my own discovering, such as grew wild beyond sea and were not common to us in England. The English observations are but an accession to the catalogue and intended only to help deliver the press of that"; idem, The Preface: "But considering the paucity of those who delight in studies and enquiries of this nature, to advantage the catalogue I have added thereto a brief narrative of our whole voyage, with some observations topographical, moral and natural made by myself and the forementioned gentlemen"; *Philosophical Transactions*, 7 (1673), 5170-72; contemporary literary magazines containing book reviews, cf. n. 44.

⁴⁸ Cf. Lithgow, 1637, title page: "Written by him who was an eyewitness of the siege"; Coryat's hesitation to mention Loosduinen: "Pardon me, I beseech thee courteous reader for this my boldness in reporting matters that were beyond the limits of my travels" (370); Careri, 135: "Were I to play the historian I would observe [...]; but my design is only to acquaint you with what I see, not with what I read or hear"; originality, Frank-Van Westrienen, 171, seems to deplore the fact that accounts of travellers on closer study appear to owe so much to printed sources; Harder, 283, affirms that the word plagiarism should not be used here, he talks about "la technique littéraire de la transcription" and that "l'auteur confère à tous ses emprunts un ton personnel"; "young travellers", Carr, 22, at the end of his description of the stadhuis at Amsterdam; Howell, *F.L.*, 129; Shaw, xvii; among the books he used must have been Veryard, 6, (on the beheading of 500 English soldiers after Haarlem had been taken) almost the same phrase in Shaw, 31, and Monconys, 129, who stated that Erasmus had invented peat (Shaw, 18).

⁴⁹ Howell, *Instructions*, 60; there is no modern bibliography of early books on Holland, most of the titles discussed below can be found in Bodel Nijenhuis (1862, 1868) and Tiele (1884); material for *The English Atlas*, vol. IV (1682) (esp. on antiquities found at Nijmegen) was provided by Nicolson; the bibliography lists more guidebooks than those discussed below.

⁵⁰ On Guicciardini, cf. P.A.M. Boele van Hensbroek in *BMHG*, 1 (1877), 199-286; the English editions of 1591 and 1593 are epitomes, Boele, 270; an important compilation in Italian with much material from Guicciardini was G. Leti, *Teatro Belgico*, 1690; e.g. Isham, R, I, 22.

⁵¹ Two bibliographies of publications on individual cities are Nijhoff (1953, ed. Van Hattum) and Van Herwijnen (1978); on 17th-century descriptions of Amsterdam, cf. J. van der Zande; Hay, 134, connects the numerous publications on the history of various countries (e.g. the Elsevier Republics) with a demand for them on the part of travellers; Boxhorn, *Theatrum Hollandiae*, is mentioned by Isham, R, I, 61; on Merula and *Commentariolus*, cf. Wansink, 239; the various authors consulted by Von Zesen fill

five pages in his preface; De Laet gave a geographical description of each province followed by remarks on customs, descriptions of the cities and their governments, the government of the province and matters such as tribunals and laws.

⁵² Aglionby, *The Preface*; he was in The Hague in 1689-90, Schutte, 82.

⁵³ *Timetables*, cf. chap. 2, n. 22.

⁵⁴ Thornhill, 102; a very extensive guidebook with several observations from Parival and Temple together with topographical descriptions was vol. II of *The History of the Republic of Holland*, London, 1705.

⁵⁵ Shaw, xvii; on Browne, Blainville, 2; idem, 18: "What shall we say of Sir Edward Veryard, an English physician, who published about four years ago an account of the Netherlands, France etc. [...] This traveller speaking of Dordt or Dordrecht assures us it was there that the populace cut the De Wits into pieces. He says the Countess of Henneberg was wife to Florent IV, Count of Holland, to whom she was really daughter and he takes a statue in the entry of the townhouse of Amsterdam, representing that city, for one of the virgin Mary. What stress can one lay upon such relations?"; Blainville, 18, on de Rohan; 5, on Misson, also 16, 21 etc.; Farrington, 261, criticized his gazetteer for suggesting that Amersfoort was a small city; Taylor (1707), 3; Skippon, 384-85; Isham, 8, at Dordt: "I saw the great church which Guicciardini says was dedicated to the virgin Mary, but one of the inhabitants where I lodged, who came along with me said it was called S. Urselle, from she that built it by this miracle [...]"; Browne, *Introd.*; cf. Coryat's sources in n. 45.

⁵⁶ Reresby, 136-37: "Ignotum est sive [...] It is not known whether [...] like a breast (says my author)", remainder quotation in chap. 4, p. 215; 135-37, from Barclay, 118, 122 (1614); Browne in French, Anon. 1690; Evelyn, 47, de Beer did not identify this source; Parival, 56 (1660 ed.), uses the phrase about the Rapenburg at Leiden; cf. Aglionby, 246-47.

⁵⁷ Cf. Coryat, 363: "Every street is very delicately paved with brick, which is composed after that artificial manner that a man may walk there presently after an exceeding shower of rain and never wet his shoes"; Ray, 20-21; Browne, 92; Misson, 339; Anon. 1699, 1; cf. Mountague, 135, on the streets in Amsterdam, which were wide and clean "even to the wearing of slippers in winter"; this phrase was also borrowed by Northleigh, 706; cf. also Mary Wortley Montague (1716), Letter I: "All the streets are paved with broad stones [...] so neatly kept that I assure you, I walked almost all over the town yesterday, incognito, in my slippers, without receiving one spot of dirt."

⁵⁸ Misson, 340; Anon. 1699, 1, quoted, chap. 3, p. 118; Farrington, 276; Taylor (1707), 10-11.

⁵⁹ Shaw, 40; Temple, 88; Penson, 26-27; Coryat, I, 401-09; there are several humorous references to it in the complimentary poems which precede the book, I, 22-121; Penson's account (*Nat. Lib. Scot.*) is followed by ten pages of similar poems.

⁶⁰ Mountague, 9 (fisheries), 15 (church music), 23 (sober living), 36 (probity of state officials) etc.; quotation, 132; Carr, 56-57; Chiswell, 10v, cf. Carr, 33; Northleigh, 709; Carr, 70: "This exchange is open from six o'clock in the evening until nine at night; every whore must pay three stivers at the door for her entrance or admission. I confess the ministers preach and exclaim from the pulpit against this horrible abuse, but who they be that protect them I know not"; cf. chap. 3, n. 48.

⁶¹ Overbury, 98; Howell, *F.L.*, 126; Fraser, 111v-17; Temple, 114; for Temple's distinction between several classes of people in Holland (82), e.g. *Renteneers*, cf. Parival, 22 (1651 ed.).

⁶² On the tradition of writing in praise of cities, cf. Klotz, 449; this tone is completely absent in a letter Hammond wrote to his father (not a full description), cf. chap. 4, n. 52; Nicolson, 9r, on the university of Leiden: "Whether this structure deserve the title of magnificent, which they are pleased to bestow on it or no, I leave to the judgement of any stranger who hereafter shall have the opportunity of seeing it"; his ironic remark on the history of Haarlem, 23, cf. chap. 4, p. 171; criticism, Ray, 48: "In most of the cities and towns in the Netherlands there are a great number of chiming little bells, which seldom rest but were to us troublesome with their frequent jangling"; Browne, n. 122 on the unevenness of the houses in Amsterdam as seen from a tower; other points of criticism, cf. index; Browne, 101-02; cf. Temple, 110-11: "It appears to every man's eye who has travelled Holland, and observed the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the country, and the great multitudes constantly employed in their shipping abroad, and their boats at home, that no other known country in the world of the same extent, holds any proportion with this in numbers of people"; Holland compared to China, cf. Burton, I, 89; for 18th-century idealized views of Holland and its cities, cf. M. van Strien-Chardonneau, *Holland als Utopia*.

⁶³ Cf. Penson, 6v: "I hope my unprejudiced reader will not expect a plentiful crop from a hungry soil but will kindly pass over the many errors he meets withal"; the numerous erasures in his rough copy show he had serious problems with syntax and synonyms; Dawes, 10r; Reresby, 124; cf. Coryat, 362, on Gorkum: "The sweetness of the situation, the elegancy of their buildings, the beauty of their streets and all things whatsoever in this town, did wonderfully delight me, insomuch that as soon as I entered into one of the longer streets, me thought I was suddenly arrived in the Thessalian Tempe, or the Antiochian Daphne"; inscriptions, cf. Child, 177, 11r, after describing the Obdam memorial in The Hague: "There is another inscription on the back of the monument but so nigh the wall that it cannot be read"; Brereton, 35; Mure, 173: "Returning to Rotterdam I find one with a close waggon goes through the streets daily, to carry off the ashes, with a rattle box in his hand to give them notice"; idem, 178.

⁶⁴ Evelyn, 31-32, writes that eight "islands had been irrecoverably lost, which put me in mind of the deluge and that description of the poet, – culmen tamen altior huius / unda tegit, pressaeque latent sub gurgite tures"; Taylor (1707), 80; cf. chap. 4, pp. 201-11; in numerous publications on the art of travel readers are told to beware of priests who may try to convert them, e.g. J. Hall, *Quo Vadis?* (1617), F. Osborne, *Advice to a Son* (1656, 3rd ed.) and a London broadside, *Bishop Hall's Sayings Concerning Travellers to Prevent Popish and Debauched Principles* (1674), cf. Charlton, 223; Coryat, 360; Northleigh, 707: "our Dissenters, who exclaim with so much vehemency against these church-bagpipes"; Chiswell, 11v; on politics, Moryson, III, 292 (JJ, 280), cf. General Introduction, p. 10; Browne, *Introd.*, pp. 243-44; Shaw, xix, quoted in *Gen. Introd.* p. 13; Mountague, *The Preface*.

⁶⁵ Piers made his journey to Rome to break away from his Protestant family after his conversion (the preamble); Penson, 5: "When I first set out being full freight with troubles, I thought not of doing the thing which now lies before you, but it pleased God thus to direct me under the heavy burden which he was pleased to lay on me."

⁶⁶ In the 18th century the traveller himself usually played a far greater role in his accounts, cf. Mary Montague (1716, publ. 1763), Coriat Junior (Samuel Paterson, 1766, publ. 1767), William Beckford (1780, publ. 1783), cf. Batten, 30-31 and Samuel Ireland (1789, publ. 1790); cf. W.E. Stewart, 13: in the course of the eighteenth century more and more fiction appeared in travel accounts and fewer facts.

CHAPTER II

THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE UNITED PROVINCES

THE CROSSING TO HOLLAND

A foreign tour in the seventeenth century was an undertaking of consequence and needed careful preparation as travellers usually set out for at least a couple of months. Passports were not strictly necessary but many obtained them for themselves and their servants at the Secretary of State's Office, the London Exchange or the Dutch Embassy. Everybody made financial arrangements by depositing money (and their signatures) with a merchant whose associates abroad would furnish them with funds. Friends and relatives who had travelled were asked to make practical suggestions about the route, the accommodation and the sights in the various towns abroad and, if possible, to provide letters of recommendation. Students were advised to do some serious reading before setting out and married men made sure their wives and children were provided for during their absence. Major Richard Ferrier made several purchases, among which a new coat and a sword. The Levant merchant John Farrington must have carried an accurate watch, since he more than once gives the duration of his trips in minutes.¹

London was frequently the starting point for the journey to Holland. From here or nearby places like Greenwich or Deptford the crossing could be made in a merchant ship or a private yacht. Diplomats and people with the right connections often made use of Admiralty yachts, which were not cheap but were fast, safe and comfortable. On his arrival in Holland, Sir Leoline Jenkins had the gratifying experience of seeing that his vessel outsailed all the other shipping on the river Maas. For the great majority of tourists, however, the journey was far more complicated. At London Bridge, the Temple Stairs or other landing stages in town they embarked on river boats, which took them with the tide usually in four, but often in five or six hours, the twenty odd miles downstream to Gravesend, where there were often ships bound for Holland or Zeeland. If none were available,

travellers continued their journey by road to the more distant ports of Margate, Dover or Deal (where many went direct from London by road), often spending the night at Canterbury. This is how Edward Southwell described the first day of his journey:

According to appointment we met this morning at 5 at Whitehall, and from thence we crossed to Lambeth and by a little after 7 were in our coach. We got to Rochester by one, and taking a fresh set of horses came to Sittingbourne by four, where the King dined. We passed through Canterbury about 7 [and] reached Margate about 10 at night.²

In 1595 Fynes Moryson paid 2sh. 6d. for the small boat in which he and his brother were rowed from London to Gravesend. About a century later, a Dutch tourist paid twice as much. In 1667 the ex-prisoner of war James Yonge on his way back home, travelled in a large tiltboat and was charged 6d. for his passage: twice as much as he used to pay before the war. The fare for passage in the post waggon from London to Dover (71 miles) was then about 16 shillings. Post horses were 2½-3d. a mile; Ferrier, who rode from London to Dover paid 14sh. 8d. When Sir James Hope arrived at Deal there was only one ship bound for Holland, "a 40 to 50 ton bark", loaded with lime. For safety reasons he preferred to wait for a week after which he embarked on a States' man-of-war that accompanied eight small vessels to Holland; the feeling of security more than compensated for the slower sailing. Robert Bargrave made his return crossing in a convoy ship too, and he and his companions agreed with captain Barker to have their "passage, diet and lodging in his cabin till our arrival in England for £4:10:00 for all our five persons".³

It was only after 1661 that Harwich became an important port of transit for travellers to and from Holland. Although there was a regular passage boat between London and Harwich (fare 3 shillings) most of our travellers seem to have preferred the journey overland. A well-organized coach service was in operation between the two towns and passengers were carried in about 15 hours (71 miles) at a cost of 15 shillings. Farrington, who preferred to travel on his own, was £8 out of pocket for a coach with six horses. Overnight stops were made at Colchester, "where we [...] filled our bellies with large, fat, white, firm oysters", or at Witham, about nine hours (36 miles) from London. Sir James Thornhill and his friends took a less direct but possibly more comfortable route, leaving London at three o'clock in the morning and arriving at Ipswich at ten at night. The next day they took the

passage boat (2-4 hours depending on wind and tides) and for 4d. a person sailed down the river Orwell to Harwich.⁴

The packet boats ranged in size from 40 to 80 tons, carried guns in time of war and usually transported 50-60 passengers, for half of whom beds were available, eight or nine in the cabin. The boats were "strongly built, being obliged to go to sea in all weathers" and the larger ones had a crew of eight including the captain. Thornhill made a sketch of the *Eagle*, according to Chiswell a ship of 80 tons with four guns. The boats were scheduled to sail from Harwich on Thursdays and Sundays and from the Dutch coast initially on Tuesdays and Fridays, but later on Wednesdays and Saturdays. They had been built for speedy sailing, and in good weather could make the 90-mile crossing in less than 24 hours. However, with storms and contrary winds, delays were inevitable and sometimes all the boats were on one side. This caused greater inconvenience in England than in Holland, where important people could remain in The Hague until they were informed by messengers that the boat was ready to sail. Ordinary travellers had to wait in crowded and expensive inns at Hellevoetsluis or Den Briel, where George Clarke once waited 17 days. A London merchant was obliged to occupy himself with bowling, playing cards and walking about the town for two weeks in Harwich. Justinian Isham spent 12 days there before the packet boat set out, but even then it had to return to port after two days at sea. When finally the crossing could be made, as many as three hundred passengers embarked on two of the three boats which set out for Holland.⁵

In ordinary circumstances making the crossing by packet was very convenient but it was relatively expensive as well. Travellers did not only have to face the cost of the passage (12 shillings), the hire of a berth (6 shillings) or a cabin (12 sh. - 1 guinea), but also a large number of formalities, including the inspection of passport and luggage. Sir Philip Skippon, who made his journey in the company of three other gentlemen and two servants wrote:

Before we entered the packet boat, we paid to the clerk of the passage four pence custom for a trunk and two pence a portmanteau, four shillings and ten pence for transcribing a pass for four persons and three shillings and sixpence for transcribing a pass for two persons. To the water bailiff one shilling; to the master of the ferry one shilling and sixpence a man; i.e. one shilling town-custom, and sixpence for himself. To the searcher, sixpence a man for writing down our names and we gave him two shillings and sixpence because he did not search us.⁶

Thornhill suggests that one way of dodging customs duties was to wear several new shirts on top of each other, but other travellers realized that far more money could be saved by staying away from the packet service altogether. In the early sixties when the packet service had only just started, there already had been complaints that captains charged 12 guilders a person and Matthew Prior, who was in charge of issuing passports at The Hague, told his minister that people resented paying as much for a mere piece of paper as for the passage itself and that, if even larger numbers of people decided to come over in merchant ships, it would become very difficult for him to keep an eye on undesirable characters. However, nothing was done to make the packet service more attractive and even smallish merchantmen often carried as many as 50 to 60 passengers. Edward Browne will almost certainly have saved the price of his passport by sailing with a skipper from Yarmouth to Rotterdam. At the end of the century slow-sailing sloops of 100-200 tons kept up a regular connection between London and Rotterdam, and so many passengers stayed away from the Harwich packet that around 1720 the regular coach service between that town and London was discontinued.⁷

Travellers spent at least one day on the road between London and Harwich, and those who made use of the packet could consider themselves extremely lucky if their journey between London and Rotterdam could be accomplished in less than 3 days. People who sailed direct from London or Hull to Rotterdam could make the crossing in two days, but those who embarked at Leith near Edinburgh had to prepare for at least five days at sea, that is if the weather was fine. In bad weather the crossing could easily last two or three times as long. Ralph Thoresby remembered how on his return journey "innumerable boisterous waves did literally pass over [his] head" and he experienced his safe arrival at Hull after a four-day tempest as "a miraculous deliverance from God". Peregrine Osborne recorded his rough crossing in a very different spirit. He did his best to entertain his sister with humorous descriptions of what had happened on board: "My brother Danby's chamberpot came to my side and fell to fighting with mine. Presently my brother came tumbling out of his bed under mine, I believe to part the chamberpots." Their tutor was very ill and, falling out of his bed, almost broke the door with his head. The experienced traveller Peter Mundy was more serious; after long delays at Margate due to contrary winds and calms, a storm drove the ship on to the shallows and there was danger of it

breaking up. When later they arrived on the Dutch coast, the passengers could see for themselves that their pilot was incompetent, for they were nowhere near Den Briel, but off the Flanders coast and once more among sandbanks. When they finally came in sight of their destination and signalled for a pilot, no one came out to help them for fear of pirates. After having been on his way for more than a fortnight Mundy reflected: "I have undergone in these fifteen days five times more hazards of losing life and all in coming but about 45 leagues, than I have done these 25 years in sailing above 25,000 leagues to and fro. These are the chances of the world."⁸

Throughout the century we hear reports of pirates and privateers operating on the main shipping lines. They were usually from Dunkirk or Ostend, where the Earl of Clarendon was taken in 1648, but also from as far away as Algiers. Fynes Moryson saw a vessel after it had been attacked, its sails were torn, "and dead men and quarters of men lying on the hatches". The Dunkirkers had tortured passengers to find out where they had hidden their money and had taken most of them together with the "chief mariners" to Dunkirk as prisoners. The ship in question had set out without the protection of a convoy and the pirates had found it easy prey. Mundy sailed from the Vlie in a fleet of about 240 small vessels protected by twelve men-of-war and although nothing happened on that occasion, enterprising pirates knew how to deal with convoys as well. John Clerk, on his way to Leiden to study law, made the crossing in a fleet of 60 merchantmen protected by two warships of 40 guns each. He tells how "Monsieur Jean du Bart with a squadron of five men-of-war" attacked them and took some of their stragglers. In critical situations, captains distributed arms to sailors and passengers alike. Hope, a wealthy mine owner, who had expected to be safe on his convoy ship, must have felt ill at ease when at midnight the alarm was given after eight or nine great ships had been sighted. He would have made a valuable prisoner to the Dunkirkers with 16 gold coins in his purse, diamond rings and a "motion watch" in "little pockets", and himself worth a considerable ransom. Fortunately when everything had been made ready for a fight, the ships turned out to be Zeelanders taking a Dunkirker and its prize with them to Flushing.⁹

The vast majority of travellers must have made the crossing in less dramatic circumstances. The Ingram brothers killed time by talking to each other in the sailors' language they had picked up during their four weeks on board. William Mountague was afraid he might go hungry, so he and his friends took the necessary precautions and

bought a good store of provisions, particularly "some good old hock and brandy". The student Edmund Calamy worried about the ryesack he had left on the quay at Hellevoetsluis with papers containing notes of lectures attended at Utrecht. Captain Stephen promised to look into the matter on his return but it was never found. This captain was not only an excellent sailor but also a good talker, and several travellers, among whom Calamy and Farrington, were told the story of the sprat which he preserved in spirits at home. Once in rough weather when his ship had sprung a leak, the fish had got wedged in the hole and stopped the water coming in. Browne spent some time leaning over the railing, not to get rid of the "English victuals in his body" as did James Compton, but to watch the sparks which the seawater made on contact with the ship. John Walker was "delighted with the playing of porpoises" and a sailor on Thomas Penson's yacht caught mackerel during a calm. The Earl of Dorset lost ten guineas playing cards and William Penn organized a religious service in the cabin which the captain, an acquaintance of his father, had put at his disposal. "We had good service those two days on the ship with several passengers, French and Dutch [...]; their hearts were much opened in kindness towards us and the universal principle had place."¹⁰

A London merchant wrote: "At six in the morning our cook espied land [...] though at a great distance, for which everyone as is usual gave him a reward". A few hours later the passengers must have been able to distinguish "a little ridge of white sandhills" and on getting closer "the tops of the trees and steeples [...] [rising] out of the very water". Ships' captains, having sighted the steeples of The Hague or Goeree, signalled for pilots to help them bring their vessel across the treacherous sandbanks. For heavily loaded merchant vessels sailing into the river Maas was a risky business, even though the channels were marked by buoys. One ship which had not taken a pilot went down before Peter Morton's eyes. Sir William Brereton described the reaction of a fellow passenger, a merchant who had many goods on board. He believed they would run aground and "changed colours and said he was undone, Oh Lord, and suchlike passionate expressions". Fortunately they managed to enter the river without problems but in doing so they had sailed close by "the bones and masts of a ship not long since swallowed by these devouring sands". If the tides were not sufficiently high it happened that big ships could not get into the Maas at all. Sir George Downing's 700-ton frigate drew 15 feet of water and the new resident in The Hague had to go on board the buoy that

carried his luggage, servants and coach. Edward Barlow waited for two days off Goeree before the tide was high enough, and then during the night they crossed the bar, sailing behind a pilot boat with a light in its mast.¹¹

Towards the end of the century Den Briel was no longer the “place where the packet and King’s pleasure boats [landed those who came] to see the United Provinces”. The majority of travellers came ashore at Hellevoetsluis “as being the more convenient port”. Since the ship on which Thornhill made his crossing had no time to dock, passengers were obliged to change (on a pretty rough sea) into a large boat which took them to Hellevoetsluis. Everybody paid 6d. “for his carriage ashore, 4d. each trunk, for cloak bags nothing”, which was not excessive considering the bad reputation of the inhabitants of the seaports on either side of the North Sea. The people of Deal refused to row Yonge ashore for less than half a crown and Samuel Pepys paid as much as ten guilders at Scheveningen. According to James Fraser, the large numbers of travellers had made Den Briel into “a hell for dearth”, whence the saying: “Air, earth, water and the dill [devil], costs you money in the Brill.” The boat which took Thornhill ashore was full of people and “rolled prodigiously” but nobody came to harm which happened when Chamberlain disembarked. Thornhill arrived safe and sound and saw that the travellers had been expected:

Then came down an army of wheelbarrows to wheel our things up to any public house [...]; we paid the same for the wheelbarrow carriage as for the boat to come ashore, and indeed the price is in these cases just what the watermen can get of you.

After paying a tax “for head money”, they entered the town and put up at the Crown kept by a Mr. Lovell. Here they could recuperate a little from the fatigue of the voyage and turn their attention to what came next, the trip through the United Provinces.¹²

VARIOUS ROUTES THROUGH THE UNITED PROVINCES

In the first letter sixteen-year-old William Osborne sent to his grandfather after his arrival in Holland, he wrote that he and his brother had already seen six fine towns, four of them (i.e. The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem and Amsterdam) within the last 26 hours. They had followed the usual itinerary for travellers arriving from Britain and had already

got used to the Dutch practice of measuring distances in hours, the equivalent of an English league or about three English miles. From Hellevoetsluis tourists usually went to Den Briel by waggon (1-2 h.) but some preferred to walk as the road was pretty bumpy. At Den Briel they were ferried across the river Maas to Maassluis (often 1½ h.), from where diplomats took the shortest route (via Delft, 2 h.) to The Hague (1½ h.). Most travellers, however, first went to Rotterdam, either direct from Brielle by boat (4 h.) or from Maassluis by boat or waggon (3 h.). Rotterdam was sometimes called "little London" because of the numerous English and Scottish families who lived there, many of whom continued to dress in their native fashion. The merchant John Farrington wrote: "one part of the town is almost [entirely] inhabited by them, as one part of Amsterdam is by the Jews." The local sights were the great church and, at the market place, the statue of Erasmus, the inscription of which was compulsory reading.¹³

From Rotterdam tourists could get to Amsterdam via Gouda in about 15 hours without having to change boats. In the 1680s a few hours could be gained on this route since the coach service from Rotterdam to Gouda (2-3 h.) connected with a trekschuit for Amsterdam (9½ h.). Heavy luggage could still be sent by boat. Thomas Bowrey left Rotterdam at seven and arrived at Amsterdam at half past eight in the evening. The majority of tourists, however, preferred another (much slower) itinerary on which there was far more to be seen. They opted for the same itinerary as the Osbornes and took the trekschuit to Delft (2 h.), where they admired the sculptured memorials in the churches, saw the outside of the Arsenal and looked in on a factory of Delftware. One of Farrington's companions who had injured his "foot by a piece of glass which stuck through the sole of his shoe" must have been glad when he arrived at the other end of the town, where barges left for The Hague (1-1½ h.). In this "village", the centre of government of the United Provinces, travellers went to see the main public buildings, among which the meeting rooms of the States. Many of them visited fellow countrymen in diplomatic service or connected with the courts of the Queen of Bohemia or the Princes of Orange. Excursions were made to Lord Portland's gardens, to the beach at Scheveningen and to Loosduinen, half an hour southwest of The Hague, well-known for the miracle that had happened there in 1276. Tourists also went to see the country houses belonging to the Prince of Orange: Honselaarsdijk, Rijswijk and the House in the Wood (Huis Ten Bosch). Sir Francis Child felt very much at home in The Hague,

which according to him was "the only town in all the Provinces for people of fashion, pleasure and gallantry".¹⁴

Child must have been reluctant to give up the "beauties of The Hague for the skeletons of Leiden", but after some time he too moved on to this university town (3 h.). There were no fine colleges as in Oxford and Cambridge, but tourists reported dutifully (some with great enthusiasm) on the anatomical theatre, the collections of "rarities" and the "physic garden", and mention the churches and the Burcht, an ancient fortified hill which, according to tradition, was founded by the Anglo-Saxons. From Leiden several routes led to Amsterdam; the most direct connection was across the Haarlemmermeer (3½ h. with a good wind) but people usually travelled (either by road or water) via Haarlem (4½-5 h.), which not only prided itself on being the native town of Laurens Janszoon Coster, who was credited with having invented the art of printing, but also on having one of the largest churches in the country. Few tourists spent the night here, since Amsterdam was only 2½ hours distant and could easily be reached by trekschuit.¹⁵

In Amsterdam, many travellers stayed a week or more, visiting the new town hall, the churches, the charitable institutions and other public buildings. Excursions were made to interesting places in the surroundings, like Zaandam (1½h, hourly boat services), famous for its mills and shipyards, and Naarden (4 h.), a strong fortress east of the town. It was not unusual for tourists to spend two or three days touring North-Holland, the district north of Amsterdam, where many large lakes, among them the Beemster, had been turned into fertile land. From Amsterdam tourists took the ferry across the IJ to Buiksloot and made the journey either by trekschuit or by waggon. At Hoorn (6 h.) they had a choice of three directions, northwards (4 h. by waggon) to Medemblik with its huge dikes; westwards to Alkmaar (4h by trekschuit; 6h from Amsterdam), the main city of the district and famous for its cheese; or eastwards (2-3 h. by waggon) along a paved road to Enkhuizen, from where the crossing to Friesland could be made.¹⁶

After their return from North-Holland, foreign visitors often travelled to Utrecht (8 h.) by trekschuit, which gave them a view of the numerous country houses on the banks of the river Vecht. Lying "upon rising ground [and] vested with a wholesome serene air" Utrecht was often preferred to the cities in Holland, especially by British students, who felt more at home on "terra firma". The town

was famous for its steeple (the highest in the country), which had remained standing when the nave of the ancient cathedral church had collapsed during a violent storm in 1674. Joseph Shaw coined "a ducat d'or" at the local mint. From here day trips could be made to Heemstede (1 h.), Zeist (2 h.), Vianen (2 h.) and Soestdijk (3 h.), a hunting lodge belonging to William III. Tourists with a little more time made a tour into Gelderland to see William's houses on the Veluwe, his favourite hunting ground. By the end of the century Het Loo (11-12 h.), his principal residence in these parts, was converted into a veritable palace with gardens, Dieren remained a more modest property on the river IJssel. From Utrecht the tourist returned via Gorkum (6 h.) to Rotterdam (7 h.) or stopped halfway between these towns at Dordrecht, the most ancient city of Holland.¹⁷

From Dordt, 4 hours from Rotterdam, boats left daily for Zeeland and Antwerp (c.20 h.; duration: 20-30 h.). Passengers first sailed down the Dordtsche Kil, "a long narrow creek like the Thames yet scarce half so broad" and the Hollandsch Diep to Willemstad. From here they kept to the left of the islands of Overflakkee and Duiveland and reached the Oosterschelde, where drowned steeples reminded them of the constant struggle the inhabitants waged against the sea. William Brockman saw a seal, "the head seemed like a wolf or a wild boar, the forelegs like a dog cut off by the shoulder; the belly deep before and shaped like a greyhound; the hinder legs trailed after it and the tail seemed like a fish". Boats for Walcheren sailed between Noord- and Zuid-Beveland, boats for Antwerp kept close to the Brabant coastline and passed within sight of Bergen op Zoom, at the end of the century famous for its impregnable fortifications. Tourists interested in military engineering included in their itineraries visits to the string of fortresses in Brabant and travelled by waggon from Bergen op Zoom via Breda (7-8 h.), Den Bosch (8 h.) and Grave (6 h.) to Nijmegen (3 h.), the town of the 1678 peace treaty.¹⁸

As tourists often made a combined visit to Holland and Flanders, or were simply passing through on a more extensive European tour, many also travelled in the outlying parts of the Republic. Roughly speaking, there were four or five itineraries. Coming from northern Germany (Hamburg) travellers usually entered the territory of the States at Delfzijl (6 hours from Groningen) or at Nieuwe Schans. From this small fortress on the frontier, they continued their journey by waggon to Winschoten (3 h.), from where a trekschuit took them to Groningen (7½ h.). On this canal there were more sluices than else-

where and several travellers complained that the trekschuit service here was a lot slower than in Holland. Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, was reached via Dokkum (7-8 h.) after about twelve hours. From here travellers went to one of the ports on the Zuiderzee: to Harlingen (4 h.) by way of the small university town of Franeker (3 h.); to Workum (6 h.) via Bolsward (4h.); or to Lemmer (8 h.) via Sneek (4 h.). Stavoren was not on the trekschuit network, but could be reached by waggon from Workum (2 h.). On the way, tourists passed Molkwerum, whose inhabitants spoke a language not unlike Anglo-Saxon and where the street plan was so chaotic that it was impossible to find the way out of the village without a guide. From these ports in Friesland, Amsterdam could usually be reached within 24 hours.¹⁹

The various routes leading through the province of Overijssel were less frequented by our travellers who, coming from Germany, could reach Holland via Zwolle or Deventer (both about 12 h. from the frontier) and Amersfoort (11 h.), three hours distant from Utrecht and nine from Amsterdam. The Rhine was a far more important itinerary. People sailing down the river noticed the presence of Dutch troops well before they entered Gelderland and often commented on Schenkenschans, a huge fortress on the frontier. The first Dutch city was Nijmegen, from where Gorkum in Holland could be reached in a day. A tourist who hired a waggon in Nijmegen could get to Utrecht in thirteen hours. If his destination was The Hague (12 h.), he would travel via Leiden (9-10 h.).²⁰

Travellers to and from the Spanish Netherlands usually passed through Antwerp, less often Sluis, which lay on the shortest route to Calais, Dunkirk and Bruges. Those on their way to Spa often travelled by waggon from Utrecht to Den Bosch (12 h.) and from there in one or two days to Maastricht (20 h.), spending the night in the first little town in the country of Liège called Hamont. The river Maas between Den Bosch and Maastricht was not an important passenger route. John Donne abandoned his original plan of travelling to Holland when he found out that sailing down the river was not practicable. As the road from Antwerp to Breda (10 h.) was very bad, and travellers ran the risk of being held up by badly paid Spanish soldiers, most tourists travelled by boat to Flushing, Dordt or Rotterdam. At Lillo, one of the fortresses on the frontier, passes had to be shown to Dutch soldiers and with a good wind and tide Flushing could be reached by evening or Dordt in the course of the next day.²¹

TRANSPORT IN HOLLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The towns of the United Provinces, which then formed the greatest urban concentration in Europe, were connected by a large number of busy roads and waterways. Fynes Moryson did not remember any other country where it was so easy to find transport. The Rev. John Hales, on his way to the synod of Dordt, where he was one of the official English deputies, may have seen it as a sign of God's providence that "wheresoever [he] went to take a boat, [there was always] some ready to put off as if it had awaited our coming". Boats and waggons left at fixed hours, but if a passenger paid the full price he had to be carried at once. Barges (*trekschuiten*) operated in the daytime, and on several routes during the night, and timetables were designed in such a way that the various services connected. Thus it was possible for travellers to get from Dunkirk to Nieuwe Schans in the province of Groningen (578 kms) in eight days (for only f8:14). Both Child and Farrington state that a person who travelled from The Hague to Amsterdam knew within a quarter of an hour his time of arrival. In the west of Holland hourly or two-hourly services were the rule, certainly in the second half of the century. Between Delft and The Hague barges even sailed every half hour, from half past six in the morning till seven at night. Coach services were less frequent; from 1660 onwards, there were two post waggons a day from Amsterdam to The Hague, but on the shorter route between Rotterdam and Gouda there were as many as eight (in the 1680s). Every day, market boats (*marktschuiten*) carrying goods and passengers sailed between the main cities, stopping along the way at smaller places. Between Amsterdam and Friesland there were at least 40 boats a week in each direction.²²

A person travelling by *trekschuit* never exceeded an average speed of 6-7 km/h., that of a trotting horse, minus the time passengers needed to change boats. On the 84-kilometre trip from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, which lasted thirteen hours, travellers spent about two hours crossing Delft on foot and changing again at Leidschendam, Leiden, Haarlem and Halfweg. Waggons were often slower; one gentleman travelled from Zwolle to Groningen, a distance of about 110 kms. in 20 hours, including a five-hour stop at Beilen to spend the night. Post waggons were faster as their horses were regularly changed. The distance between Amsterdam and The Hague was covered in 6½ hours at an average speed of 10.3 km/h. However, the

post waggons to Arnhem managed only 7–8 km/h., and those between Utrecht and Den Bosch no more than 5.2 km/h., because three rivers had to be crossed. The journey between Den Bosch and Maastricht usually took two days, but at the end of the century, the post waggon covered the distance of over 50 miles in only one day. The vehicle seated four persons and its two horses were changed six times. Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Richards paid two ducatoons and wrote: “I do not think our stage coaches in England are so expeditious and cheap.”²³

The speed of sailing boats varied even more, as they were totally subject to the vagaries of the weather. Patrick Gordon spent only twelve hours on board the ship which took him from Workum in Friesland to Amsterdam (90 km.), but Calamy, who travelled from Rotterdam to Utrecht by windschuit so that he would not have to change, found it was quicker to walk the last few miles. James Fraser walked all the way from Haarlem to Leiden and arrived three hours before the schuit. If necessary, these boats were also rowed or drawn by horses and “stood along by a boathook”. However, on the principal rivers the possibilities of dragging boats upstream were limited and contrary winds could bring traffic virtually to a standstill. The Earl of Perth, whose servants and luggage were windbound at Rotterdam, felt bored stiff at Nijmegen and cursed the east wind which delayed his journey to Italy. Sir Leoline Jenkins once spent as many as ten days between The Hague and Nijmegen, where the peace conference was being held. On the Zuiderzee, delays usually remained within limits since passengers could always go ashore at the nearest port to continue their journey overland. When the weather suddenly changed, the master of William Bromley’s boat, which was on its way to Amsterdam, put out “a pair of breeches [...] at the end of a pole” and a small boat came out from Enkhuizen to carry the gentleman ashore. With the prevailing south-westerly winds, the journey from Zeeland to Dordt was sometimes made in as little as twelve hours, but travellers in the opposite direction often spent more than the usual 16–30 hours on board. With strong contrary winds, few skippers relished the idea of tackling the narrow Dordtsche Kil and the treacherous Hollandsch Diep, preferring to wait at Dordrecht, where John Evelyn once counted 141 vessels. Even in good weather ships lost much time in these tidal waters, lying at anchor to avoid running aground. Sir Dudley Carleton’s correspondent, John Chamberlain, who had been told his journey might last four or five days, was happy to disembark at Arnemuiden after (only) two days and nights on the water, an average speed of 2.5 km/h.²⁴

This intense flow of traffic was a considerable source of income for the state, which levied a large variety of taxes. William Carr enumerated some: "a stiver for every man that goes out or into any city after the hour of shutting the gates. Also you pay for going over some bridges and passing through gates called Tolhek a stiver for every person; but coaches, waggons or horses pay more." In Amsterdam it cost *f*75 and *f*50 a year to keep a coach or a sledge, i.e. "a coach without wheels". The most profitable tax, called *passagegeld*, added 20-25 per cent to the cost of transport. A traveller noted that one paid "for passage by dragscute for every league to the boatman 2 st., [and] to the state 3 farthings for *passagegeld*. The boatman pays out of his 2 st. 5 doits, so the state have about half". Passengers in waggons and carts paid similar rates: out of every guilder 10 st. went to the state, five as passage money and another five from the waggoner.²⁵

In spite of these taxes, it would seem that transport was cheaper in the United Provinces than elsewhere. Sailing boats were the cheapest, especially on long distances. The *trekschuit* was about twice as expensive and transport by waggon was at least three to four times as much. According to Carr, orphans travelled free; Fraser, a travelling student, did not pay either; he simply delivered to the boatmen the tickets he had been given by burgomasters in several towns. It would seem that between the end of the sixteenth century and the 1660s, fares, in line with the increase in wages, more than doubled. From then on they remained more or less stable until well into the eighteenth century. The rates for waggons or boats were always fixed by the magistrates of the towns, who paid salaries to the skippers of the *trekschuiten*. Waggoners were self-employed but they needed licences. Richards noted: "in all inns where these waggons are hired there is a printed establishment of the rates, which if you can read Dutch, you cannot be imposed upon."²⁶

Distance travelled for one stuiver

	1592-5	after 1660
sailing boat	10-15 km	6 km
<i>trekschuit</i>	5-6 km	3½ km
waggon	4 km	1-1½ km

A considerable number of tourists, who in any case belonged to the wealthier classes in Britain, did not make use of the common waggon

or schuit, but hired one for themselves. Moryson paid 13 st. for a two-hour ride from Delft to Maassluis, which would have cost him no more than 4 st. if there had been other passengers. The cost of a waggon was usually six times that of a single seat. Joseph Taylor paid 21 st. for a waggon from Flushing to Middelburg instead of the ordinary price of $3\frac{1}{2}$ st. In 1695 the hire of a whole waggon from Maassluis to Rotterdam was $f6:6$. A passenger in the post waggon between Amsterdam and The Hague paid $f4:3$ plus passage money and the whole waggon cost " $f24:18$ st and passage-gelt, provided there be no more than 6 persons". Another gentleman, who in 1669 made a long journey through the northern provinces, paid about 20 st. for an hour's transport by waggon. The cost of waggons alone (from Culemborg via Arnhem to Groningen; from Harlingen to Staveren; and from Enkhuizen via Haarlem to Amsterdam) amounted to $f64:10$. Chaises or waggons could be hired for a day or an afternoon. In The Hague Sir Francis Child paid about $f4\frac{1}{2}$ a day for "a handsome coach with two good Flanders horses". At the end of the century chaises cost between $f2:10$ and $f4$. Barges could be hired as well. William Penn paid the full price between Delft and Rotterdam, and says he travelled by "express boat". The French scholar Monconys paid 56 st. for the boat between Amsterdam and Haarlem. Sailing boats could be rented on similar conditions. Moryson paid 12 st. for the ferryboat between Maassluis and Den Briel; in 1688 the fare had risen to 25 st., and was five times that of one single seat. The boat from Den Briel to Rotterdam was then $f3:3$, twelve times the ordinary rate. Over longer distances, chartering a boat was only something rich people could afford, or tourists travelling in a group. Robert Bargrave and his friends (1656) paid 15 guilders to sail from Dordt to Veere, whereas Montague Drake was three pistols ($f27$) out of pocket for his transport by yacht from Rotterdam to Antwerp, about the same sum as Sir James Thornhill. Thomas Bowrey, who had a yacht of his own, gave $f7$ to a pilot to sail his ship from Flushing to Rotterdam. Gordon hired a large vessel for his passage from Workum to Amsterdam and paid $f10$, which he says was the usual price.²⁷

Of course, there were additional costs for tourists. According to Moryson, people travelling with much luggage needed strong shoulders or a fat purse. There were no fixed rates for luggage in trekschuiten and waggons, but Farrington had the impression that small trunks cost "half as much as a passenger in long passages [and] in the short ones full as much". Child said, "whatever may be carried under one's arm pays

nothing". Gordon, who had a lot of luggage with him, had to pay porters every time he changed boats. Shaw was indignant when at Leiden he was asked as much as a guilder "for the bare housing of [his] portmantle about half an hour". Additional expense was also incurred if passengers wanted beds on board. In 1662, a tourist paid 22 st. for the use of the little cabin on the trekschuit between Utrecht and Amsterdam; between Gouda and Amsterdam Bowrey paid 48 st. for this extra service. Then there were tips: Moryson gave 3 st. to a sailor who had attended him for three days on board, Gordon paid 3 st. "drink money to the fuirman" and Locke three doits to the "jager", the little boy who sat on the horse pulling the trekschuit.²⁸

Travelling on foot and by waggon

With public transport so readily available, few travellers made their journeys on foot. John Talman, who spent several years at Leiden, must have had more time than the average tourist and regularly made excursions to the surrounding villages. John Ray and his students went looking for wild plants in the environs of The Hague, Fynes Moryson walked in half an hour to Loosduinen and Thomas Penson went on foot from Rotterdam to the kermis [fair] at Delfshaven. A much longer walk was made by the Scottish student John Erskine, who in 1686, with some friends, spent the first two days of his summer holidays on the road between Utrecht and Nijmegen (13 h.). Other travellers occasionally stretched their legs from Hellevoetsluis to Den Briel or between the towns on Walcheren, but most of them saved their energy for sightseeing and hardly ever declined the use of public transport. However, at times there was no alternative, as when Evelyn's boat ran aground and the passengers, their legs covered in mud, had to make their way to dry land. Much the same thing happened to Penson, who later good-humouredly remembered how they had had to go for three English miles through the mud and sands, "picking our way to avoid treading upon the great crabfish [...] which lay ready to catch us by the toes". A farmer later conveyed them by waggon to Lillo.²⁹

In Moryson's time, travellers were carried in "long narrow country waggons, the sides [of which were] like racks for horses and across over them short and somewhat narrow boards, being fastened for passengers to sit upon, two in a rank so as they hold some eight or ten passengers". These waggons could be covered "with hoops and cloth" as a protection against the elements and in winter straw was put on

TABLE OF DISTANCES IN HOURS AND
COST OF TRANSPORT IN STUIVERS³⁰

<i>Waggons: trekschuit</i>		*****	Nijmegen	
Hellevoetsluis			14h	14 ^h
2h	36-46 ^k W7 ^{pw}		Gorkum	
Brielle		10 ^w	5h	4
1½h	2 ^a 12 ^a B5 ^p 25 ^p B		Dordt	
Maassluis			4h	4*5 ^c 9 ^g
2h	13 ^a W6 ^{hw}		Rotterdam	
Delft		6 ^w	3h	
3h	2 ^a 3 ^c 5 ^{pw}		Maassluis	
Rotterdam		11 ^{nw}	1h	2 ^a 12 ^a B5 ^p
3h	24 ^b S		Brielle	
Delft		9 ^a 15 ^a 18 ^{hw}	5h	3 ^a 4 ^a 5 ^{p0} 63 ^p B8 ^v
1h	2 ^a w1½ ^b 2½ ^{pw}		Rotterdam	
The Hague		3 ^a 7 ^b 8 ^w	18h	18 ^c 26 ^m
3h	40 ^a W6 ^c 7 ^{pt}		Antwerpen	
Leiden		6 ^a 10 ^a 9 ^w	14h	15 ^f
5h	8 ^a W11 ^c 12½ ^p 13 ^{tw}		Middelburg/Veere	
Haarlem		2½ ^a 4 ^h	20-21h	10-12 ^a 15 ^a *23 ^c
3h	6 ^a w40 ^c W5 ^b 6 ^{pw}		Rotterdam	
Amsterdam		w	26h	36 ^o
8h	12 ^m 13½ ^t		Sluis	
Utrecht		150 ^g W	4h	7 ^e
10h	12 ^a w21 ^t		Flushing	
Leiden		3 ^w		
3h	6 ^a w7 ^{tw}		<i>Waggons</i>	
Delft		6 ^{hw}	The Hague	
	*****	8 ^{hw}	11h	83+25%tax ^p
Rotterdam			Amsterdam	
4h	12-14 ^p 12 ^w		18h	106 ^a
Gouda			Arnhem	
10h	19 ^{tw}		3h	18 ^h
Amsterdam		*****	Nijmegen	
½h	2½ ^v		13h	60 ^m 69 ⁱ
Buiksloot		<i>Sailing boats</i>	Utrecht	
6h	13 ^v	Amsterdam	12h	232 ^h W
Hoorn		18h	Arnhem	
3h	7 ^v	Harlingen	6h	80 ^g W25 ^h
Purmerend		9h	Zutphen	
4h		Enkhuizen	3h	40 ^g W10 ^h
Alkmaar		5h	Deventer	
4h	7:2 ^h 10 ^t	Workum	6h	120 ^g W30 ^h
Hoorn		14h	Zwolle	
3h	80 ^g W14 ^t	Amsterdam	22h	
Enkhuizen		9h	Amsterdam	
	*****	Enkhuizen	8h	10 ^a
		3h	Utrecht	
		Staveren	10h	50 ^{dq}
		12h	Den Bosch	
		Amsterdam	20h	75-100 ^{dq}
		*****	Maastricht	
An hour is approx. 3 English miles.		*****	*****	
w=one seat in waggon	W=whole waggon		B=whole boat	

the floor so that passengers could keep their feet warm. Sir James Hope travelled in a cart pulled by one horse but Robert Bargrave and John Walker mention waggons "drawn by three horses abreast", which the former compared to "those for Turkish women or them for the King of England's hounds". Mons. de Blainville, governor to secretary Blathwayt's sons, gave a description of the post waggon:

These machines are very high, mounted one may say upon stilts; besides they are adorned without, with certain moving plates of iron, which make a terrible rattling; in other respects they are convenient enough if they were hung with springs and were not a ladder necessary to get up into them, of which one is fastened to each door.

Farrington compared them to "our bakers' carts in shape" and wrote: "the foreman or waggoner sits to drive them, much after the same manner. There are three benches in the middle which will hold two each and one before, so that eight may ride in them, though there are some that hold only six." Other remarks on Dutch waggons chiefly concern their lack of comfort: "Their waggons are never hung so that one had almost as good go in one of their dung carts." Another travelling tutor, John Leake, could not help noticing "several loose iron rings, which roar[ed] out rugged music, to the no small disturbance of those who are not entirely deprived of the sense of hearing". Between Rotterdam and Gouda the "Flanders tiles" with which the road was paved for twelve miles, had been covered with sand "to avoid the noise of the wheels". Evelyn did not mention the noise but was "insufferably tormented with the stitch in [his] side" and had to be given first aid by the wagoner. The banker Sir Francis Child, who had a waggon to himself to avoid "the bad tobacco and worse company" of the natives, was driven along the paved street between Veere and Middelburg at such a speed that the travellers "expected to be dis-jointed" before arriving at Middelburg. Here, as Child put it, "we gave God thanks for delivering us from the fury of the waggon".³¹

Chaises, which held two passengers and were drawn by one horse, provided more comfort and many tourists used them for trips into the countryside, particularly in the surroundings of The Hague. According to Child, they looked "like a calash" but they also made him think of "an elbow chair upon wheels". William Mountague and his friend hired two and the gentlemen, each with a companion, toured to Naarden and Utrecht. The vehicles could easily travel sixty miles a day. Unfortunately they were not very stable, as Joseph Shaw, a

lawyer, found out to his distress: when his driver "through an excess of complaisance" gave way to a cart, his vehicle was overturned.³²

When tourists were not travelling in a shaking waggon they generally appreciated the condition of the roads. Bargrave was impressed with "the stately even roads [near Amersfoort], curiously planted on each side with abele trees". According to Shaw a "perfect description [of the highway from Utrecht to Amersfoort] would appear more like a pleasing fiction of some romance than truth". Paved roads linking cities were non-existent in Britain and the pedestrian Lithgow associated the "delicate smooth causeway of thin brick" between Flushing and Middelburg with "the valley of Suda or the Tempian plains". The best-known road in the United Provinces was completed in 1665 and led from The Hague to Scheveningen. Walker was eager to see this "long walk cut through the sandy hills", at that time a novelty, which another gentleman judged to be "a work fit for the ancient Romans". It was "paved with brick for three miles, having on each hand four or five rows of trees, and Scheveningen steeple at the end of it". As people of fashion loved riding or driving to the beach, the tolls yielded several thousand guilders a year.³³

Rivers were usually crossed in ferries but at Arnhem there was "a bridge over the Rhine of twenty boats", two of which could be taken out to let ships pass. Between Utrecht and Den Bosch the travellers' way was obstructed by three rivers, the Lek at Vianen, the Waal at Zaltbommel and the Maas opposite the fort Crèvecoeur. Those who journeyed by land from Rotterdam to Dordrecht had to be ferried over twice: at one hour's distance from Rotterdam a boat took them from Kralingse Veer to IJsselmonde and there was a second ferry at Zwijndrecht. Here Brereton crossed the river Merwede to Dordt in "a long narrow boat which carries horses and waggons and is sixty or seventy foot long". A far more spectacular ferry was the one across the Waal at Nijmegen, where, according to a student from Utrecht on a holiday tour, the river was "broader than the Thames anywhere at London". This is what he wrote about the ferry:

There was a bridge of boats halfway over and the other half we passed in a machine of two great boats joined together side to side, and is fastened by a long cable to 3 or 4 smaller boats which are fastened by anchors a little higher up the river to keep this great one from falling down the stream; which was very rapid and the machine being steered sideways against the stream, the current runs it over to the town.

The Earl of Orrery and his servants paid 3 st. a person to pass over this “flying bridge”, of which another student made a small sketch. Shaw mentions its capacity: “there were seven or eights carts loaded with hay, and abundance of horses and about seventy or eighty persons [...] and all this by the help of two or three men.”³⁴

Fynes Moryson, who appreciated the frequency of waggons in Holland, had his reservations about the drivers. These people, who threw dice with each other to decide whose turn it was, were often drunk and drove their mares like madmen. The fact that accidents were rare (Skippon refers to one, which claimed the life of a bird, *Lanarius minor tertius*), may have been due to the good condition of the roads but there were also special regulations penalizing waggoners who overturned their vehicles. It was important for travellers to discuss the financial details with them before getting into the waggon, for although prices were fixed, disagreements did occur. One gentleman felt obliged to draw his sword against his waggoner “and his train of houndsfoots”, who had threatened him with their knives when he was unwilling to pay more than the amount he thought they had settled on. The difference of opinion may well have been about the passage money and the tolls, which were best paid by the waggoner together with his own expenses at the inns, “otherwise you will be much imposed upon”. Lord Fitzwilliam’s driver had his own technique of keeping this money in his own pocket. He “broke an old woman’s gate” because he did not want to “pay an unjust tribute for passing over a bridge”. Shaw too was not altogether happy with his driver’s comportment. During an excursion in the surroundings of Leiden, the man suddenly decided that Shaw “had had riding enough” and returned to town.³⁵

Sailing boats

Like the passengers of waggons, travellers who made use of river-boats “with big sails” or who had to cross to Friesland or Zeeland also frequently complain about the lack of comfort. There were always more passengers than bunks and many travellers were obliged to spend the night in the hold on straw or even on the bare boards of an open boat. During his passage from Rotterdam to Antwerp the young lawyer Joseph Taylor “was forced to sleep on a board, yet [it was] in the best place of the vessel, called the roof, which we had to ourselves”. The Rawdons lay on their portmanteau, “which was of a good length and served them for a bolster”. Sir John Reresby pre-

ferred to take lodgings at Dordt "though the plague was in it, than [to stay] in a stinking keel crowded with passengers". Travelling by boat was not only uncomfortable, it could also be quite dangerous: in time of war ships were liable to be shot at from the banks, but storms constituted a more permanent threat, even on relatively small waters like the IJ and the Haarlemmermeer. When "the water came within less than half a foot of running into the boat", Sir William Brereton, who had just been received by the Queen of Bohemia, may have remembered how a few years before (in 1629) one of her sons had been drowned near Haarlem. Lady Carleton, in a hurry to arrive at Flushing for an auction, was angry with the captain of her ship for not venturing out from Dordt in stormy weather. She may not have realized how unsafe the Hollandsch Diep could be, where John Evelyn nearly lost his life. It was here that Fynes Moryson saw a ship go down during a storm; the skipper's wife and children were drowned.³⁶

Since sailing boats were easily delayed, passengers had to make sure they had sufficient provisions. Moryson had bought a 24 st. loin of mutton for his passage from Middelburg to Rotterdam. Joseph Taylor and his friend Captain Seaton did not only buy food but also laid in an ample supply of wine "to make our voyage the more comfortable". A London merchant travelling to Antwerp was told by his sister, who lived at Dordt that the "passage [was] sometimes three of four days". Consequently she "put me on board good store of Rhenish wine, beer, cold meat, bread, butter, a paper of salt, two plates, a napkin and pillow to lie upon, besides gingerbread and plumcake enough for a whole week". Sir John Reresby's victuals ran out and he was obliged to pay a lot of money for "the watermen's fare" consisting of "coarse bread, stinking butter and raw mussels with small beer". The Rawdons, whose boat had anchored to ride out a storm, felt hungry and cold after the second night on board. Fortunately a Dutchwoman shared her provisions with them and "lay close to them for warmth". The Earl of Perth, who had run aground in the tidal waters of Zeeland, also had to go hungry while his servant waded ashore to get something to eat. The piece of cold ham he brought back tasted better than anything he and his wife had ever eaten before.³⁷

Trekschuit

Although less adventurous than the sailing boats, the *trekschuit* was a far more comfortable means of transport. They were not unlike the

barges used in England, nevertheless many travellers felt they merited a special description. It struck tourists that they kept strictly to their timetables and "left precisely at the sound of a little bell, whether they have freight or no". A horse with a boy on its back pulled the boat with the aid of a 50-yard rope fixed to a mast near the stern. At bridges boys sometimes helped with the rope. To prevent the lines of various boats getting entangled (according to Moryson these accidents were frequent), there were regulations concerning the right of way. When two boats met, one of the horses had to stop and while its rope slackened, the other boat went over it. The problem could also be solved without loss of time "by shaking the rope from the mast [...] the horse still drawing the boat, though the rope passes under the other boat". Every two or three hours the schuit arrived at a stopping place, where the horse was changed or fed. Tables stood ready for the passengers who for a shilling could choose from a variety of snacks: dried beef, two or three sorts of fish and cheese and "roasted eels and cold ham".³⁸

The scutes were "boarded over and covered with a pitched canvas, whereon are sprinkled pieces of cockle-shells". "In wet weather [this] keeps out the rain and in hot the sun; which is to be thrown up to let in the air when they please." The boats could carry about 45 passengers, but in some there was "room for 60 or 70 people to sit conveniently, there being a bench the whole length of the boat on each side and one along the middle; and towards the stern there is a partition which makes a kind of a cabin by itself, but this, as it is more convenient than the common places, so it is dearer". Cushions could be hired for 2 st., blankets were 6 st., which Fraser, who begged his way through Europe, thought was extravagant. The Levant merchant John Farrington, who travelled in the night-boat from Amsterdam to Hoorn, complained about "the frequent changes [which] interrupted us in our sleep" but Thoresby, then a young apprentice, "lay comfortably upon fresh straw with much company all night". Far more convenient were the private yachts belonging to the Prince of Orange or the various towns, which were also made available to foreign guests. Henry Sidney, who on his diplomatic missions often travelled at night, must have appreciated them. The Duke of Shrewsbury remarked: "These yachts are pleasant, easy and convenient; one may eat, play, dress meat, read or go to bed in them." Another tourist wrote that it was possible to sleep in them "as well as in the best lodging".³⁹

The canal between Rotterdam and Delft, on which many tourists made their first trip in a Dutch barge, was higher than the surrounding countryside and as such a curiosity in itself. It was "filled for the most part with the water drawn from the lower grounds by windmills [...] whereof there are many, each sending as much water as would make a pretty brook continually into these channels". In the course of the century, more and more waterways were adapted or even especially constructed to make trekschuit services possible. Thus the canal between Amsterdam and Haarlem was made in 1631-2 and the one between Haarlem and Leiden in 1658. When Sir William Brereton travelled from Haarlem to Amsterdam in 1634, the road alongside the new canal was not yet fully finished, but there was so much traffic that the project already looked like a good investment. He calculated that the tolls would easily pay back the original outlay. Halfway between the two cities the canal was interrupted by the sluices through which the water of the Haarlemmermeer could run into the IJ at low tide. Trekschuit passengers had to cross them on foot and change boats. At Overtoom "where the boats that [came direct] from Leiden pass upon rollers" passengers did not have to get out and there was a similar installation near Gouda. Here James Yonge's boat "was with a capstan drawn on rollers" over a dam into another canal, half a foot lower. These dams obliged heavy vessels carrying goods between Amsterdam and Rotterdam to pass through Gouda and Haarlem, where tolls had to be paid.⁴⁰

The countryside which offered itself to the passengers' eyes was continually being "improved" by the inhabitants. Shaw liked the view between Leidschendam and Leiden so much that he called it "a summer landskip". Child saw on his left:

a vast many neat houses of stone, with delightful gardens set off with small canals, statues, evergreens and trees with various pyramids and other figures of arbor work of green and white colours, all open to the canal; there you seem all the way to be in a canal belonging to one prodigious garden.

Between Utrecht and Amsterdam travellers made similar remarks on the numerous country houses and fine gardens bordering on the river Vecht. Occasionally Dutch people came into view: little boys asking for charity by lowering wooden boxes down from bridges or by floating them out to passing boats, but also "boors going a-milking and others carrying their hay, milk, butter, roots etc. to market in little schuyts or boats".⁴¹

At a proper distance, it could be entertaining to watch the natives, but some tourists found it difficult to get used to the ways of the Dutch people on board: a boatman asking for fares halfway or making a collection for the poor, and salesmen and -women peddling lottery tickets or shoe-buckles to travellers, especially to foreigners. Most of all, they will have seen with amazement how everyone sat together, "without distinction of age, sex or quality". Those who boarded first, sometimes children under ten, who did not have to pay, took the best seats and showed no inclination of giving them up. Another thing was that the "true Dutch [were] always eating". John Leake, a very respectable clergyman in charge of the vicar of Stepney's son, wrote about the trekschuit:

In this voiture people of all conditions travel promiscuously together, nurses and children, burgomasters and footmen, fishwives and ladies of the first quality. It is not infrequent to have your eyes and noses entertained with the beauties and perfumes of the nursery. You shall see a brawny face, not greatly troubled with petticoats, kick off her slipper and hoist her leg upon the seat just by you; and men of tolerable fashion, though seated in company with young gentlewomen, with as little ceremony, turn themselves about and make water in the canal.⁴²

It is true, some Britons joined in without any difficulty. In Friesland, Farrington had a long conversation with a minister of religion about the famous London preacher Dr. Sacheverell; Samuel Pepys did his best to start a conversation with a pretty girl, who obstinately seemed to prefer her book, and Thomas Penson and his English friends entertained all the passengers with their singing. Another traveller liberally shared his tobacco with his companions: "One fellow happening to break his pipe off, close by the head after he had filled it, put the head halfway in his mouth and smoked it, saying he would save the fire in it". Dr. Roger Kenyon, who was once physician to James II, gives a pleasant description of his journey between Utrecht and The Hague. He was writing to his sister-in-law and had just had a conversation (in Latin and Dutch) with some fellow-passengers:

My good women have just opened their basket of cake and provisions and we are making collation; for it is thus I always trust to Providence, without taking care for myself. And, as good chance will have it, here is a fellow lately come into the boat with a bottle or two of wine; he says he has been in England and has learnt the language, but the other fellow's Dutch was much more intelligible. However, be his language

what it will, his wine is very seasonable to our cake and he pays me very well for lying and saying I understand him.⁴³

Travel in winter

Although the majority of tourists travelled between the months of April and October, a few saw Holland during the winter, when conditions of travel were markedly different. The gentleman who accompanied William of Orange on his journey to Holland in January 1691 describes how the king went into a small boat to go ashore. The beach was "choked up with heaps of ice", and night fell before a safe landing place had been found. Thus "his majesty was for ten hours exposed to the injuries of the air and the waves of the sea, which sometimes came into the shallop; so that the Lords who were with him had their clothes all covered with ice". Travelling by road was also difficult. If there was snow, or when the thaw set in and the roads froze again during the night, traffic slowed down considerably and the price of transport went up. Instead of the usual two stuivers a person, Orrery had to pay almost ten guilders to be ferried across the river at Gorkum. Sir Anthony Shirley had to hire some "poor soldiers" to carry his luggage from Hellevoetsluis to Den Briel as "horses were not able to pass". More than a century later, Simon Clement, a diplomat on his way to Vienna, travelled along the same road in comparable circumstances. Moryson preferred to walk from Hoorn to Enkhuizen after he had heard a waggon would cost him 4½ guilders. The diplomat Laurence Hyde needed three days for his journey from Nijmegen to The Hague, one more than usual, for "the ways [were] extreme bad". At Nijmegen a highway had been made across the river Waal "with ruts as in any road in the country". If there was only frost, travelling by waggon was only slightly more uncomfortable than in summer. Clement's breath froze on the sheet under which he tried to keep warm, but the post waggon covered the distance from The Hague to Amsterdam in the usual 6½ hours. We have no firsthand accounts of Britons who made the journey between Friesland and Holland on skates or sledges across the frozen Zuiderzee, but that, according to Fynes Moryson, was what the Dutch did, erecting tents "in the midst of [the sea], having beer and wine and fire made upon iron furnaces".⁴⁴

Trekschuit services on canals were cancelled for one month on average and, as we have seen, rivers were occasionally blocked by ice as well. William Crowne and his companions, who had been sailing

down the Rhine on their return from Vienna, encountered so much ice that their boats ran the risk of being split. They continued their journey overland and, since waggons were not available, used little sledges. In the snow-covered fields, markers had been set up to direct travellers. In these circumstances accidents were unavoidable, and in January 1641 the wife of Thomas Holles was drowned in the Haarlemmermeer when the ice gave way under her sledge. The later famous non-conformist preacher and historian Edmund Calamy, who had been persuaded to accompany some fellow countrymen on a skating trip to Leiden, was pushed all the way on a sledge from Utrecht over the frozen Rhine. A lot of snow fell during the night and, returning, his friends on skates could fairly easily make their way along the narrow path that had been cleared through the snow. The sledge, however, was often overturned. Calamy lost the fire out of his fire stove and, sitting still all the time, got so cold and stiff that when a stop was made at the halfway house he was just able to creep "upon all fours" into the pub. It was only after half a pint of brandy had been poured into his mouth and he had smoked a pipe of tobacco that the feeling returned to his fingers and toes, and he went to bed to sweat it out:

When I awaked, through the great mercy of God, [I] found myself wonderfully well, though weak. Upon this I cooled myself gradually and got a horse sledge which drove swift, the bottom being covered with straw and my clothes wrapped about me. I arrived safe that evening at Utrecht and I bless God did not find any ill consequence; but had such a sense of what had passed, that it would not have been an easy thing to have drawn me in haste into such another frolic.⁴⁵

ACCOMMODATION

At the landing stages outside the towns there were always porters waiting to help travellers with their luggage. The merchant Thomas Bowrey wrote about his arrival in Amsterdam: "We put our goods on a barrow and went ourselves in a coach, or rather covered sled having no wheels, drawn by one horse the driver walking by." For two guilders and 7 st. they were taken to the White Hart, the "English ordinary" behind the Old Church. Like Dutch travellers in England, British tourists in Holland preferred to stay with fellow countrymen. Here the host could tell his guests in their own language what there was to be seen in town and possibly show them around himself. Social

contacts with compatriots were easier as well. It was in the White Hart that Edward Browne met Francis Vernon, with whom he subsequently did a good deal of sightseeing. At Utrecht, Penson inferred from a great many names written on the glass panes that "several English gentlemen" had been there before him "and to follow their example I pulled off my ring and wrote mine likewise (and so I did also in other places)". For Moryson, English houses had the additional advantage of economy, and also later in the century quite a few of them appear to have been among the more modest inns. On his arrival in Amsterdam, Edward Barlow, who had worked as a common sailor on an East-India ship, was taken to a Scotsman's house but he "quickly found that house to entertain more whores and rogues than honest people", so he and his comrades left to look for another lodging. Bowrey and the Duke of Shrewsbury, both wealthy people, first put up with English hosts but soon changed to more fashionable places, viz. the Dutch Bible in the Warmoesstraat in Amsterdam and the Doelen in Rotterdam.⁴⁶

In Amsterdam, Robert Bargrave was the guest of the English merchants at the Doelen, originally a house "for exercise of shooting guns and crossbows", which had developed into one of the smartest establishments of the country. "One side [of the room was] all glass windows with balconies, the other three parts [were] adorned in lieu of hangings with the pictures of all the burgomasters, burghers and chief officers [...] drawn to the life in full proportion, and so like the persons that I knew divers of them as I met them in the streets." A second reception took place at one of the Herenlogementen, possibly the one where King Charles II had once been "royally feasted". Every room was "furnished with brave pictures and paved with black and white marble" and in one of them there was a "glorious organ". Bargrave was treated to "such Frontignac wine as excelled all other wines I ever tasted". Robert Moody, the servant of the Honourable Banister Maynard, remembered of this "ordinary for Lords and great persons (the greatest ordinary in Holland)", that prices of meals were not under a crown, i.e. twice as much as elsewhere. In a big city like Amsterdam there were of course inns for all purses, but here and in most other towns completely free accommodation was also available. It was only for bona fide travellers without money, who were not allowed to stay more than three days. James Fraser frequented these "hospitals" and later wrote that the one in Rotterdam had provided him with the best lodging.⁴⁷

From time to time we come across comments on meals. Among foreigners it was a widely held belief that the Dutch only lived on "onions, roots, herb, milk and pickled herrings". When travellers saw well-to-do citizens sitting in their doorways with big lumps of bread and cheese in their hands, they may have had misgivings about what was in store for them at their inns, but Sir James Thornhill and his friends do not appear to have suffered great hardship at The Hague. For supper they had "three small dishes, viz. a good crab, four pigeons and asparagus (and a good dish of peas), strawberries, butter and cheese". In Maassluis the meal had not been too good. This was the standard menu according to Ray:

The first dish [...] is usually a salade, sla they call it [...]; the meat they commonly stew and make their hotchpots of [...] Boiled spinach minced and buttered (sometimes also with currants added) is a great dish all over these countries [...] You shall seldom fail of hung beef in any inn you come into, which they cut into thin slices and eat with bread and butter, laying the slices upon the butter. They have four or five sorts of cheese, three they usually bring forth and set before you.

Few travellers are lyrical about the meals they had in Holland, except about those to which they were invited by compatriots. Richard Chiswell remembered with pleasure the "good tables" of the English merchants at Amsterdam and Sir William Brereton described in detail the "royal entertainment" prepared by Colonel Goring's cook. English tourists generally had a very low opinion of the cuisine of the Dutch, who did not even have a "name for a loin of mutton or veal or any other joint of meat". The exiled Thomas Papillon told his wife to bring over a kitchen maid who knew how to prepare meat, "for the Dutch maids here cannot dress meat after the English fashion". "They roast and boil all to rags", was the view of Mountague, who realizing fish dishes were the country's speciality, once told a cook how to prepare a piece of salmon with an English sauce. Needless to say things did not turn out as he had hoped and Mountague gave as his verdict: "They are as I said before, generally choice cooks, but then it is only for their own country folks."⁴⁸

In order to make up for the shortcomings of the cooks, tourists could always order an extra bottle. Unfortunately claret was not available everywhere, as the Dutch had "not yet fallen in love with" it. However, there was plenty of Rhenish wine, especially at Dordrecht, the staple of this commodity. Here Bargrave and his companions

"feasted [their] palates". Lord Maynard and his servants were treated for a week "as if every day had been a wedding; all sorts of wine but especially Rhenish as plenty as water". This wine, which was cheaper at Dordt than elsewhere, was also mixed with "cheap and ordinary, thin, lean and hungry wines", which could not otherwise be sold. One such mixture may have been the so-called French wine, "a sweet, to us nauseous wine" as Dr. Walter Harris put it, which he did not remember ever having tasted in France. He had a much higher opinion of the Dutch beers, some of which possessed medicinal properties. They were "wholesome, cool and good" and effectively quenched thirst, which could not be said of the liquors served in the London inns. According to Moryson, the Dutch were particularly fond of an imitation of English beer, produced by 300 brewers at Delft. Lord Fitzwilliam did not like the Haarlem beer, which he thought "thick and very sweet [and] fitter for hogs than man", but he agreed with William Lithgow that "for excellent good beer of all Belgia, Breda is the daughter of Bacchus".⁴⁹

For a meal with beer Fynes Moryson (1592-5) usually paid 10-14 st.; with wine the bill was twice as much. The cheapest place he went to was the house of the English merchants in Middelburg, who enjoyed special fiscal privileges. Here he paid 2 st. for his bed and 5 or 6 st. for a meal. At a common English inn in Rotterdam breakfast was 2 st., supper 10 st. and his beer between meals came to 5 st. According to him Dutch inns were more expensive since the cost of the beer was equally divided among all the guests, so that strangers had to pay for the "intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions". In the course of the century prices of meals do not appear to have risen much, probably because later tourists usually had dinner in what were known as ordinaries, where meals were served for about a guilder. Thomas Bowrey (1698), who liked a good bottle of wine with his meals, paid only slightly more than Moryson (25-30 st.). John Farrington (1710) had dinner at his own inn for 12 stuivers. At that time students at Leiden usually paid between 9 and 12 stuivers. For Richard Ingram's servant George Hollings, whose wages as a common soldier were only 17 st., this still represented a huge sum, so that he could not "afford more than one meal a day". Sir James Thornhill noted the rates for meals at the Golden Lion in The Hague: dinner was one guilder, supper 10 st. Servants paid for dinner 8 st., for supper 6 and for breakfast 4. The Earl of Dorset's attendants with 30 to 60 st. daily for board-wages, must have had ample allowances. At that time the

price of a bed in most high-class inns was 6 st., sometimes 10, but much cheaper (2-4½ st.) accommodation was also available.⁵⁰

Paid at the Dutch Bible; the rate at the ordinary table is 25 st. [...] they find ½ pint wine to dinner; here is very good eating and clean lodging

for lodging 6 persons 4 nights	7: 4
1 pint Rhenish wine	0:12
for beer at 4 st. a kan	1:14
for wine at 24 st. a flask claret	14:10
for chocolate, coffee etc.	5:13
for diet at 30 st. a meal a man	25:10
	55:03 paid 53:3 ⁵¹

Naturally there were good and bad ordinaries. Samuel Pepys, who does not say how much he paid for it, once had to share a salad and two or three bones of mutton with nine others. Locke was scandalized when his landlord at Hoorn asked 30 st. for a very scanty meal. A London merchant noted angrily that his host at Overschie made “us pay [...] about three guilders (which is 6 shillings) for roasting a quarter of lamb, for which we paid the butcher but 18d”. If no price had been agreed on in advance the bills could be even higher, Pepys paid as much as 16 shillings (f8) for a dinner for two at The Hague. Fitzwilliam knew it was no use to protest against the innkeeper in Vianen, “a town composed only of broken merchants and other wicked persons” and drily commented: “Where should we have found an honest person? Diogenes himself if he had been here with his lantern would have lost his pains if he had looked for one.” In the eyes of British travellers, Dutch innkeepers shared a bad reputation with many of their continental colleagues, particularly as far as their bills were concerned. Some tourists had the impression that “over-reaching and exacting” were national sports. Noblemen particularly were fair game for the innkeepers of the Republic. Sir John Reresby, who had found it “impossible to eat well under a crown ordinary”, had probably not put into practice Harris’ advice: “A traveller in this country must be easy and obliging in his carriage, must make no noise [...] He must be contented with what he finds upon the spot and must take care to put his host to as little trouble as may be.” This is what Maynard’s servant, Robert Moody had to say about the subject:

The Hollanders are generally uncivil to gentlemen but we felt it nowhere so much as at Haarlem; for they bringing in an extravagant

reckoning, the governor would have disputed it to know how they reckoned; but the landlord told him that it was a sign he knew not where he was. "I tell you", says he several times, "you are in Holland and here you are not to dispute reckonings!", and he was so transported with rage that he called in some of his neighbours, telling them that he had got some English dogs in his house, who would not pay the reckoning; upon which three or four appeared with clubs and staves, threatening to knock us down. The governor was sturdy at first but seeing the fellows appear with clubs, he was glad to tender them all their unjust demands and so we happily escaped that brunt.

Travellers who expected that this sort of unpleasantness would not happen at English inns were bitterly disappointed. Lady Grisell Baillie saw no difference between English and Dutch houses, both were to be avoided, "being the most imposing, the French the best". John Walker, an Usher of the Exchequer, who in Amsterdam stayed with "one Brown [...] over against the Old Kirk" wrote: "we were more imposed upon by our own countryman than any other persons."⁵²

Complaints about accommodation are much less frequent, although on one occasion Shaw paid "half a crown for a bed not worth two pence" and the young merchant Bargrave was obliged to spend the night at a riverside inn with "drunken boors [...] on stinking and lousy beds" In general people seem to have been satisfied with their inns and the service they got there. They were a lot cleaner and more comfortable than those in Germany. James Thornhill, the artist, described the elegant interior of the Gold Windmill at Delft and made a sketch of the chimney in the dining room. The many pictures and tapestries on the walls of an ordinary inn at Leiden had come as a complete surprise to Sir Dudley Carleton. It is true that we meet with the odd complaints about the landlady, the high "inconvenient short and narrow beds [...], like cabins" and the steep stairs ("if a man should make one false step in descending, he must expect to fall to the bottom"), but mostly tourists got everything they wanted, including pipes, candles etc., as long as they paid for it. The bilingual conversations in *Le voyageur d'Europe*, by A. Jouvin deal with almost every situation a tourist could find himself in at an inn, where he must smell his way to the lavatories and tries to steal a kiss from a chambermaid. However, they do not specifically concern British visitors at Dutch guest houses. At a cheap inn at Franeker, Farrington had to sleep in a room over the stable and whenever he woke he "heard the horses eating". In spite of the "very fine linen" on his bed, Taylor did not sleep well either,

“being mightily disturbed in the night by the watchmen [who] came about with an instrument (instead of a bell) composed of two boards like trenchers, fastened to a stick, which made a very dismal tick-tack”. Fitzwilliam was not bothered by these noises for, as his host at Breda told him, “the clapperman or bellman” had been laid off,

by reason that good wives would not let their husbands in quiet and rest; at what hour soever soon or late the bellman did call, they did put their husbands in mind of their conjugal duty, so that hereby a good old burgomaster and some other old citizen having married young wives had been almost undone.

There is little else that travellers recorded about what happened to them during the night, although the forced intimacy of sharing rooms and, even beds, with complete strangers might have produced many an interesting story. Fynes Moryson was indignant when he overheard a conversation between his host at Harlingen and a Frisian gentleman, who protested that Moryson did not look too clean and that he would rather not share his bed with him. Samuel Pepys could not keep his eyes off the Dutchwoman with whom he shared a bedroom and John Dunton tells that “one Mr. V. [tried to] commit a sinful indecency” with him. It was possibly for this reason that he left the inn and took lodgings with a Mr. James, a dyer on the Looiersgracht.⁵³

Tourists did not stay at public houses longer than necessary and whenever possible they took lodgings with private citizens, friends or relatives. After his arrival in Rotterdam, Dunton spent some days in the house of his wife’s brother-in-law and John Erskine stayed with his brother before he found rooms somewhere else in town. The Earl of Perth was invited by a fellow Scot, who also took him out on a trip through the countryside. Quakers often lodged with sympathizers. In Rotterdam they were always welcome in the house of Benjamin Furly, a merchant, who received people from all walks of life. James Nimmo and Thomas Papillon, both refugees who had families to look after, went to a great deal of trouble before they were settled in houses of their own. The latter finally rented one at Utrecht for £31 a year. On his arrival at the English coffee-house in Utrecht, Edmund Calamy, who did not have that much money to spend, was received by a number of compatriots, who helped him to find suitable lodgings. Many Britons stayed with fellow countrymen rather than with “the common housekeepers” who, according to Calamy, were not always equally honest. Alexander Cunningham, governor to Lord George

Douglas, extensively reported on their pension (with Mr. Halma, the university librarian):

He pays eight *livres* [= guilders] a week for breakfast, dinner and supper, chamber and washing; and I pay seven guilders and ten pence. We drink wine at dinner, we eat much after the French fashion and dine almost as well as they do in the 20 crowns pensions at Paris. The supper is not so plentiful but it is good enough [...] The pension amounts to about 400 *livres* yearly a piece.

At the arrival of the Earl of Orrery a few weeks later, wine was served at supper as well for which they were charged a little extra. At the end of the century the usual price for board and lodging was £7:10 a week. James MacKenzie told his father that this was cheaper and safer than eating out and hiring a “tolerable room”, which would cost at least £8 a week. Bérard, the tutor of the Duke of Leeds’ two grandsons, paid £2000 a year for their board and lodging, a sum most other students could only dream of. The lodgings of two of Wodrow’s students were only £25 a year plus an extra ducatoon for the landlady’s daughter. Prices had apparently doubled since Fynes Moryson had paid £3:15 a week for board and lodging in a Frenchman’s house in Leiden. In The Hague, a very expensive town, he paid £5:10, living as frugally as possible for a man of his social class.⁵⁴

CONTACTS AND LANGUAGE

It is curious to see how little tourists heeded one of the most important tenets of the theory of travel, not to mix with fellow countrymen. Almost without exception they associated with other Britons, on tour themselves or resident in Holland. John Dunton met an American acquaintance in Amsterdam and Thomas Penson spent a pleasant afternoon with a London friend he happened to meet in Rotterdam. Many travellers became friendly with compatriots they met at their inns, among them John Evelyn and James Vernon. Sir William Brereton, who in Delft had lodged with the English merchants, paid visits to English ministers of religion wherever he went. Both the Rev. Mr. Hill at Rotterdam and his colleague Mr. Newcomen at Leiden were accustomed to showing around British tourists. In The Hague numerous upper-class travellers found a warm welcome in the British community with its diplomats and courtiers, as appears from the accounts

of the Duke of Shrewsbury, Edward Southwell, the son of a government minister and the banker Sir Francis Child. Isham met his uncle and aunt here; Robert Bargrave met a cousin, who introduced him to the Queen of Bohemia.⁵⁵

Naturally tourists also had contacts with Dutch people: innkeepers, washerwomen and barbers, who dressed their hair, beards or wigs, but also bankers, scholars and owners of collections of "rarities" and sometimes a doctor. However, many of these contacts must have been rather superficial. A number of tourists became friendly with Dutch people of their own social standing during their sightseeing or on the road. Joseph Shaw had interesting conversations with Dutch clergymen at his inn, and William Mountague met some Dutch tourists in the gardens at Honselaarsdijk, but as he said "it was our fortune to converse but seldom with the Dutch". For just as Dutch people of quality, the English tourists must have kept "a fit distance between them[selves] and the common people" such as boatmen and waggoners, who with the other members of the lower orders had an annoying habit of unashamedly watching the better dressed tourists. It also happened that British gentlemen gave offence by openly showing their contempt for the republican Dutch. Lord Roos, who had strong Catholic sympathies, promised his tutor he would mark his arrival in a States town with

a very homely piece of work [...] as his first reverence. And though he kept not touch in that, yet he did as ill, for taking out his privy members in the presence of divers men and women, he showed them openly five or six times together, as he stood by the riverside.

Later when the company visited the church at Sluis he spoke against the Hollanders and their religion and "he promised that if they would but stay a while he would bestow the perfuming of it". Mountague may have shared Roos' feelings but he was far more tactful. During a visit to an East-India ship off Middelburg he had an opportunity to mix with some genuine Dutch specimens who, as long as one knew how to deal with them, were completely inoffensive. He was considerate, polite and paid them compliments, and after many toasts,

Prosperity to the State [...], Victory to the Confederates, Downfall of France [etc], we were soon all of a piece, the best friends in the world, nothing like us, happy mixture of English and Dutch.⁵⁶

Few travellers, even those who stayed in Holland for considerable periods of time, cared to learn the Dutch language unless they were obliged to. A number of diplomats and students started with good intentions, but few became as proficient as John Clerk, who had many Dutch friends and could easily follow lectures in Dutch. After spending four months at Utrecht Lord George Douglas had made "very good progress" in French but as his governor wrote to the Duke of Queensberry "for the Dutch language, he has already as much of it as is necessary for any gentleman". Ralph Thoresby, who had come to Rotterdam as an apprentice, regularly went to "Mr. Willem Brents, schoolmaster in order to [learn] the Dutch lingua", however, unlike Erskine he was never able to understand the sermons in the Dutch church. Thomas Molyneux, who spent several years in Leiden, did not even bother and "kept company with English or such foreigners that have talked to me nothing but Latin". Quakers usually relied on interpreters to get their message across.⁵⁷

Clearly tourists who put up at English inns, went to British bankers for money, and had English-speaking tourist guides to show them around, could easily do without Dutch. They must have shared the views of Thomas Browne, who advised his son not to waste his time on learning the language of a country in which he was only going to spend a few months at most. Still Edward Browne's Dutch was better than that of the average tourist. He correctly copied some Dutch inscriptions and inserted in his journal the song celebrating Piet Hein's victory over the Spanish silver fleet. Nevertheless, the majority of English tourists looking at texts printed in Dutch must have "understood no more than children do, that look upon the babies". Consequently some of the more difficult words they put in their journals came out full of errors, as Drake's "Bulgarwaggon" (bolderwagen), Dunton's "Dijk Graces" (dijkgraven) and Northleigh's "chemin huyse" (Gemeenlandshuis). The words "stadhuis" and "trekschuit", in which as John Leake wrote, "the bores and borennekies" were coming "to the karmish", did not present any problems.⁵⁸

A fair number of Dutch people were able to speak English anyway. Thomas Bowrey was invited to dinner with Dutch merchants whose English was very good, and Joseph Taylor got an invitation to a ball one evening and danced with twelve beautiful ladies who all spoke English. Admiral De Ruyter spoke it and, of course, William III, whose mother was English. In the madhouse in Amsterdam, Thomas Penson met an English-speaking woman, "that had so much English

as Our Father and she told me the Dutch to it". However, in their contacts with the Dutch, who were relatively good at foreign languages, tourists could not in all circumstances rely on their own language or Latin: a knowledge of French was indispensable. It was the international language in The Hague and used by "almost all the people of quality" in Europe, as Flecknoe found out in his ten years of travel. Many young Britons arrived in Holland with the express purpose of learning it, before setting out on their tour of Europe. It was seen as an advantage that "the humors of the [Dutch] people" were not too different from those in Britain and they could easily find lodgings with French Protestants, many of whom had found a safe refuge in the Republic. Nevertheless there were always situations in which even French-speaking travellers were unable to make themselves understood, particularly when faced with people who had not had the advantage of much education. In Flushing, the Earl of Perth had to wait a considerable time at his inn before someone arrived who spoke French, and Bargrave was completely at a loss when a ferryboat landed him, not at Zevenbergen, as he had been given to understand, but somewhere else where none of the "drunken boors" was able to tell him where he was. Fortunately a gentleman arrived who, in French, explained the situation and helped him on his way.⁵⁹

MONEY MATTERS

Although the sums tourists spent in Holland obviously depended on their age, social position and, most importantly, financial resources, it is possible to say approximately how much was needed by the average traveller. Fynes Moryson indicated the cost of travel for a student of good family touring Europe on his own. The £50 to £60 a year which he said were necessary covered food, clothing, and two journeys a year, but did not leave much for riding, fencing and dancing lessons. In 1614, when Moryson was finishing his magnum opus, John Savile allowed his son £100 a year. According to James Howell (in a book written for the upper classes in 1642) at least £300 a year was needed to travel in style, not counting the cost of servants (£50 each), which more or less agrees with what wealthy young Dutchmen needed in France around 1650. The money spent was often seen as a good investment. Ralph Verney wrote to his son's tutor: "The best company is always the best cheap if we consider all things [...] Truly

I had rather he should spend five pounds in good noble company than five pence among the mean and ordinary sort of people." The Duke of Leeds in four years spent more than £3000 on the education of his two grandsons at Utrecht, which included the salary of the governor (£100), many journeys, fine clothes, private tutors for riding, tennis, maths, drawing, fencing, music and dancing, and many bottles of champagne. Lord Irwin's allowance was £600 a year but the greatest spender was the Earl of Dorset with £1200 a week (approx. £120) on his diplomatic visit to The Hague. The total cost of his journey, which lasted from 6 Jan. to 20 March 1691 was £1070:7:7, with £6:6 a day as personal pocket money. For people "who would live in good fashions" Holland was a relatively expensive country: in 1668-69 the cost of living at The Hague was about $\frac{1}{3}$ higher than in Paris or London. At the end of the century, Perth wrote to his sister that living in Holland was "excessive dear" and James MacKenzie told his father that Utrecht would be more expensive than Oxford and that he, like most other Scotsmen, would not be able to live on less than £100 a year. John Clerk was proud that he even managed to make his journey to Italy on this sum. At the end of the sixteenth century Fynes Moryson's daily expenses on his tour through the United Provinces were about £2 a day. Seventy years later Edward Browne had about £5 a day, with which he could also buy books and prints. The English clergymen at the synod of Dordt must have been more than satisfied with their daily allowances of £20, for in 1698 Thomas Bowrey, a fifty-year old merchant, could live in comfort on just under ten guilders a day.⁶⁰

To cash their letters of credit or bills of exchange, tourists usually went to the big cities, where merchants in the seventeenth century paid between £9:10 and £11 for one pound sterling. Bank charges were quite high, especially for letters of credit. Many students at Leiden paid 20 p.c. to their bankers but Mr. Carstairs, a Scots merchant at Rotterdam charged 25 per cent. Clerk repeatedly wrote to his father to send the money by a Mr. Gordon, who took less. The exchange together with the journey and two or three days' waiting at Rotterdam came to nearly half the money he got. Lord Irwin's governor, Mr. Haccius, asked for their money to be sent via Rotterdam, where "the change [was] about 6 pence higher [...] than in Amsterdam". Grisell Baillie advised her relatives to go to Scots bankers at Rotterdam, whom she knew. Brereton received his money from Mr. Bayneham, of the Merchant Adventurers Company at Delft. Leake and possibly Bowrey

had Jewish bankers. Richard Chiswell went to a Dutch firm, Peter Mentinck and sons, from whom he received letters of credit for his trip through Germany. Since these letters could only be cashed with the merchant to whom they were addressed, tourists had to plan things well in advance or lose time in extra journeys. Sir Philip Skippon, whose banker was a Mr. Chapman at Amsterdam, considered himself very lucky that a Mr. Hopkins at Middelburg was willing to lend him £20, "though he never saw nor knew us before". Leake had to go to Amsterdam once a month and Brereton sent a servant from Amsterdam to Delft to collect his money. Soon after his arrival in Leiden, Moryson returned to Amsterdam to cash a bill of exchange. The journey took him another two days and cost at least f3.⁶¹

Not one tourist mentions changing his sterling into guilders at Hellevoetsluis, where, according to the author of a popular guidebook, travellers did well to provide themselves with Dutch money. It was probably more advantageous to do this in the big cities. Thomas Penson tells about the Jewish money changers in Amsterdam: they "stand frequently upon the bridges with bags of Dutch money under their arms and if they see a stranger will say, Heb ghij wat gelt te wesell, mijn Heer, Sir have you money to change?" He warned his readers not to let themselves be cheated by them, which may have been easier in the United Provinces because of the many different coins, some of which were only accepted in the province where they had been minted. Walker, who visited the mint at Dordrecht, was not impressed by the quality of the coins: "They stamp as bad money as any in Europe, doits, stivers, double stivers and shillings, which is nothing but copper slightly gilded over. All the good coins that go amongst them are either Spanish or German money." The newly arrived student Edmund Calamy got the equivalent of £20 in Dutch money from the Edenses (mother and sons) of Rotterdam. He was paid out in 28 st. pieces, "the heaviest of the Dutch money". Against the then (1688) exchange rate (£ = f10:10) he must have received about 140 coins, weighing approximately 2½ kilos. It was so heavy that he asked his two companions to share his burden.⁶²

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the sometimes dramatic crossing and unlike travel in neighbouring territories, the journey in Holland was for most travellers

characterized by a succession of short uneventful trips between big cities. Tourists could travel in relative comfort at a low cost, and in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht the distances between the towns were so short that they were never obliged to spend more than seven or eight hours a day on the road or on board a *trekschuit*, unless they were in a hurry. If possible tourists stayed with fellow countrymen and they were generally quite satisfied with their accommodation. The fact that they did not speak Dutch was not felt as a handicap, since the few Dutch people they mixed with during the relatively short period they spent in Holland usually spoke foreign languages, particularly French. Few travellers needed to economize in a country where the cost of living was higher than elsewhere. They generally belonged to the leisured classes and could afford to spend in a day what a skilled worker would earn in a whole week.

NOTES

¹ Thornhill, 11, 109 paid 2 guineas 6d. for six people including servants; later he heard passports could be had for 1 guinea on the London Exchange or for 3sh. 6d. at the Dutch ambassador's; Farrington, 270, in Holland paid 2 ducats 12 st. for 5 persons, including 2 servants, which is slightly more than the official rate of 12sh., cf. Prior, 62; Molyneux, 326, was told a passport would cost £6, but the mayor of Gravesend allowed him to leave the country without one; Southwell preserved in his letterbook the French passport, which he had used in Flanders; financial advice, Moryson III, 13; idem, 14, make your will; practical suggestions, Baillie, 386-8; letters of introduction, Shaw, 3, 23, Molyneux, 327; Howard, 312, asked the king to look after his wife and children, Hope, 145-46, left his wife in London with £95 in gold; Ferrier, 40; Farrington, *passim*.

² Sidney, Nicolson, Shrewsbury are among those who crossed in navy yachts; private yachts, Penson and Bowrey; more landing stages, Billingsgate (Yonge, 107), Hermitage (Erskine, 108); James MacKenzie, 99, told his father that it had cost rather much: 2 guineas for a warrant to pass in the yacht; 2 to the captain and 1 on various boats he had to take before he could go on board; Dorset paid 83 guineas for his crossing on the Catherine yacht, 19 March 1691; Bérard, 10, paid 20 guineas; Jenkins, I, 353; on this section of the journey, cf. Parkes, 96-123; Southwell, 45-46.

³ Moryson I, 200; cf. Delaune, 363, 4sh. 6d. for a boat to Gravesend (1681); Amsterdamse Vader, 60 (1683); Yonge, 107, the official rate was 6d., Delaune, 364; Baskerville, 276 (1661) paid 8d. in a tiltboat; Dankaerts, 288 (1680) 3 sh. for 3 in a wherry; post waggon, Dover-Gravesend, 16 sh. (Chr. Huygens, 162, 1661); Rye-Gravesend, c. 18 sh. (Payen c.1660); Dover-London, 16 sh. (Von Melle, 35, 1683); on coach service London-Dover, cf. Delaune, 414; horses, Ferrier, 40; Amsterdamse Vader, 60: 3d. a mile, also in Delaune, 341; Hope, 153-54; slow sailing of convoys, Margate-Flushing (Princess Elizabeth, 1613) 3-4 days; Margate-Rotterdam (Mrs. Burnet, 1707) 5 days; Harwich-Hellevoetsluis (Isham, 1704) 4 days; Bargrave, 192r.

⁴ For this section of the journey, cf. Thornhill, 1-15; boat and coach London-Harwich, cf. *Reisboek*, 387 and Delaune, 419: "The coach comes to the Sarazen's Head within Aldgate on Monday and Thursday and goes out on Tuesday and Friday"; cf. Locke accounts 3 May 1689; detailed road map in Ogilby, 37; Amsterdamse Vader, 47, paid £1:4 for his seat in the coach; Orrery, 14 June 1689, f39:10 for 3 seats; Farrington, 279; De la Court, 80-81, paid £7 for a coach to Ipswich and 6 sh. for a boat to Harwich (1710); quotation, Mountague, 238.

⁵ Cf. Bruijn, *Postvervoer*, 19-37; *The Present State*, 411; Thornhill, I, 29; Chiswell, 9; *Reisboek*, 123, 148; Farrington, 279, returned to England in "one of the smallest" packet boats, 70 tons and 200 passengers; messenger, Hyde, 3; Clarke; Anon. 1695-99, 33, they unsuccessfully put to sea four times; Isham, 1-5; Lord Herbert, 86-87, was beaten back into Den Briel 3 times and Clarendon, 979, had to return to Flushing 4 times; Thornhill, 31, too sailed with 3 boats together.

⁶ Cost of passage, Thornhill, 11, 12sh. 6d., servants 6sh. 6d.; Amsterdamse Vader, 47, and Locke f6:6; De la Court (1710), 110, 114, f6:18; for a berth Dankaerts, 293-94, paid 5 sh., Amsterdamse Vader f3:3; De la Court paid one guinea (f11:11) for a cabin for two; Skippon, 361, embarked at Dover; for not opening trunks De la Court, 80, 108, paid 9 sh.; Dorset, Jan. 9, £3:4:6. Style (1669), 24, half a crown for a place in the cabin.

⁷ Thornhill, 16; f12, *Calendar Clarendon St. P.*, V, 593, June 23, 1665; passports, cf. HMC Bath III, 26; merchant ships smuggling passengers, idem, 31; Molyneux, 326, sailed in a ship of 35 tons; 50-60 passengers, Brereton, 2, Mundy, 58, Lithgow, 2, Chamberlain, 310; fares, Dankaerts, 293, paid 2 ducats (f6:6) for his passage from London to Rotterdam; acc. to Payen the crossing from Gravesend to Zeeland was 3 livres (c. 6 sh.); sloops 2 or 3 times a week from London to Rotterdam, *A Guide*, 1731, preface; *The Present State*, 127, says the passage was 15 sh., the cabin a guinea and "30 st. for every dinner with the captain"; Defoe, I, 35: "The inhabitants [of Harwich] are blamed for being extravagant in their reckonings, in the public houses, which has not a little encouraged the setting up of sloops, which they now call passageboats, to Holland, to go directly from the river of Thames [...] insomuch that the stage-coaches between this place and London, which ordinarily went twice or three times a week, are now entirely laid down."

⁸ Duration of the crossing: Den Briel-Harwich 14 h. (Amsterd. Vader, 47); Hull-Rotterdam 48h (Thoresby, 17), 14 days (Bradford, 11); Flushing-Margate 19 h. (Bargrave, 192); Flushing-London 48h (Coryat, 375); Dover-Rotterdam 36 h. (Erskine, 108); Edinburgh-Veere 5 days (Forbes, 25), 18 days (Erskine, 160-62); Vlie-Orkneys 6 days (Erskine, 114-15); Thoresby, 26; P. Osborne, 112; Mundy, 53-61.

⁹ Clarendon, 977-78; Dickinson, 31, was pursued by a "Turkish pirate" off Den Briel (1687); cf. Molyneux, 326, saw at Chatham "three Turkish men of war, taken long since from the Algereens"; Whitworth, 200v: "French privateers"; cf. Anon. 1712, 2-3; Moryson, I, 54-55 (JJ, 245-46); Mundy, 83; Clerk, 12-13; distribution of arms, Caton, 77-78, he adds: "but for my own part I could not touch any of their weapons, as to shed blood with them"; Hope, 153-55.

¹⁰ Haccius, 18 June, 1704; Mountague, 237; Calamy, 191; Capt. Stephens, Farrington, 4; Anon. 1712; De la Court, 1710; Thornhill, 13, 18; Browne, journal, Aug. 14; Compton, 1r; porpoises, Walker, 1, also Anon. 1695-99, 3; Penson, 8; Dorset, 20 March; Penn, 66.

¹¹ Anon. 1695-99, 3; Anon. 1699, 1; landmarks, cf. Browne, n. 1; also W.J. Blaeu, *The Light of Navigation*, Amsterdam, 1612, p. 16-17, with a profile of the coastline; pilots, Turnour, 1-2; cf. Browne, n. 5; Morton, 192; Brereton, 4-5; Downing, 85; Barlow, 245; cf. Crowne, 69-70.

¹² Carr, 6; a long description of the port at Helvoet is in Anon. 1706, 1v; Thornhill, 31-32; cf. idem, 21-22: "Gravesend, Dover, Deal and Harwich, The devil gave his daughter in marriage, and further to fulfill his will, he flung in Helvoetsluis and Brill"; cf. Moryson, III, 34, on the rapacity of people at Gravesend; Farrington, 7, on Helvoet: "It is the best way not to lodge there at all if it can be avoided"; Yonge, 106; Pepys, 140; Fraser, 102r; Chamberlain, 310; Style (1669), 24, "two shillings head money".

¹³ William Osborne, 3-4; route, Carr, 7ff; road to Den Briel, Nugent, I, 127 and other guidebooks; the crossing to Maassluis took Isham, 6, almost 4 h.; cf. Ray, 20: "they measure their way in these countries by the time they spend in passing it"; Mundy, 64, also mentions the Dutch (= German) mile, which was 4 English miles; the distances have been taken from guidebooks and accounts of travellers; Farrington, 277; Anon. 1706, 2r: "the characters [were] almost worn out, yet with a great deal of pains I found [...]"; Erasmus, cf. Heesakkers.

¹⁴ Sailing Rotterdam to Amsterdam, Yonge, 94, Mundy, 64; waggon to Gouda, Bowrey, 31, Isham, 26; crossing Delft, Fox, 38, Thornhill, 37; Delftware, Carr, 9, Shaw, 29-30, Child, 6r; Arsenal, Shaw, 20; Mountague, 19; Bowrey, 56: "Here is the great magazine of the States, before which I see lie about 300 large brass guns"; Farrington, 9; Child, 177, 13r; cf. Drake (1710), 16.

¹⁵ Addison's expression, cf. letters, 41; sailing to Amsterdam, Parival, *Dialogues*, 92.

¹⁶ Travel in North-Holland, cf. Locke, n. 6, journal, Aug. 15 ff.

¹⁷ Air, Walker, 5; terra firma, Penson, 31v; Fraser, 89r, says there were about 50 British students; Shaw, 3.

¹⁸ Kil, Dawes, 8r; detailed description of sailing route Middelburg-Rotterdam in Bowrey, 26-30; cf. Browne, journal [25] Sept; steeples, Browne, n. 236, Unton, 95; Coryat, 371, Child, 1v-2r; Brockman, 69v; according to Cunningham Lord Douglas insisted on seeing Den Bosch, Breda and Maastricht "these three places are so noted that he can scarcely leave this country without seeing them" (27 Jan. 1687).

¹⁹ On the various itineraries, cf. Wander, 173; detailed descriptions of the routes with mileages, timetables, inns etc. in Nugent, I and II; a canal was made to Nieuwe Schans in 1695-7 (De Vries, 64); sluices, Farrington, 62; Isham, 43: "the skipper making not all the haste he ought"; cf. Brugmans, 24; Molkwerum, Fitzwilliam, 22, Temple, *Observations*, 146, Calamy, 183-84, Anon. 1691, 30; Farrington, 40; Harlingen-Amsterdam, Haistwell 16h; Moryson 17h; Workum-Amsterdam, Gordon 12h; Danckaerts 11 h.

²⁰ Clement and Bargrave travelled through Overijssel; Crowne, 65-66, saw Dutch garrisons in all towns from Orsoy and Rheinberg downstream; Anon. 1662, 39v, noticed small Dutch men-of-war on the river between Wesel and Emmerik; Schenkenschans, cf. Locke n. 56; travelling time on river, cf. Locke n. 57.

²¹ Sluis, Herbert, Fitzwilliam, Yonge, Perth, Mure etc; full information in *Den wech naer het Spaa*, cf. also Skippon, 410 and Isabella Duke, for lengthy accounts; Donne, I, 314-15; Antwerp and Lillo, cf. Browne, n. 190 and n. 243.

²² Towns, cf. De Vries, *European*, 270ff; Moryson, III, 56-57 (JJ, 251-52); Hales, 1; De Vries, passim; Child, 177, 5v; Farrington, 8-9; contemporary timetables in almanacks (cf. Higgs), *Naeuwekeurig reysboek*, 1679; *Reisboek*, 1689; Carr, 1688; *Some*

Necessary Directions, 1710; *A Guide for English Travellers*, 1731; *Reisboek*, 1689, 529, gives timetable of trekschuiten between Amsterdam and Utrecht stating the position of the boat each $\frac{1}{4}$ h.

²³ De Vries, 100-06, 44-45; Anon. 1669, 52v; Clement, 3r, took the post waggon between The Hague and Amsterdam; Blainville, 47-49, the one from Amsterdam to Arnhem, the journey lasted from dawn till dusk; Den Bosch-Maastricht, Southwell, 2 August; Richards, 1692, 13v; cf. *Beschrijving van een klijne reise* (1705).

²⁴ Gordon, 125; Calamy, 140-41; Fraser, 95v; quotation, Yonge, 94, on the A'dam-Gouda schuit; Anon. 1669, 52r, was dragged upstream from Vianen to Culemborg in 5-6 hours; Perth, 48: "We have been lying here these six days and may do six more, if by good fortune our folks get not some waggon to hire"; Jenkins, 360-61; Bromley, 782; cf. Moryson, I, 200 (JJ, 249), after spending 2 days on an icy sea between Amsterdam and Hoorn, he went ashore and travelled overland to Enkhuizen; 12 hours, Southwell, 13-23 Aug.; Bargrave, 95v, his ship was pulled through the Kil for 5 miles "against wind and tide"; Evelyn, 60; Chamberlain, 305, 309.

²⁵ Carr, 47; stiver for the poor at gate, Anon. 1669, 43v; Penson, 28r: "Whosoever is without the city gates after nine o'clock, pays a stiver for his entrance; which very tax continually produces a prodigious deal of money"; coaches, Carr, 46; on passage money, Anon. 1672; according to Bowrey, 54, and Child, 178, 15v, the passage money was $5\frac{1}{2}$ st. in the guilder; Carr, 7, says it was 20%; cf. De Vries, 107, 0.85 penning p/km in Holland.

²⁶ Cheaper, De Vries, 109; cf. De Vries, 106-111, he calculates the cost in pennings per kilometre; cf. Boussingault, *Avis aux voyageurs* (1677), 2 sols pour chaque lieue par eaux, en quelques endroits 3 sols pour 2 lieues; 5 sols pour voyager en chariot; Carr, 25; Fraser, 91r; wages, De Vries, *Inquiry*, 74, 82; fares known, Moryson, III, 56-57 (JJ, 252); Richards, 1692, 2r.

²⁷ Moryson, I, 47 (JJ, 230); De Vries, 50, quotes a source which states that the price of a wagon was 5 times the price of a single seat; Taylor (1707), 78; Anon. 1695-99, 5; Carr, 70; Anon. 1669, 52-53; cf. C. Huygens jr, paid f15 for a waggon from Zevenbergen to Antwerp, 15 hours including 3 hours' rest (1673), H. Brugmans, 33-34; detailed rates for hire of coaches in *A Guide*, 1731, 15-19; chaises, in North-Holland, Mountague, 202, f2:10; in The Hague, Child, 177, 14r, f3:3; Rawlinson, 9, f4; waggons in The Hague, Brereton, 35-36, f3; Denne, 21, f5; Dorset, 26 Feb. f3:3; cf. Delaune, 357, a hackney coach in London max. 10 sh. a day; Thornhill, 47, a berline, f7:10; Mountague, 41, a coach for an afternoon f4; Penn, 111; Monconys, 172-75; cf. Nugent, I, 299, 327, the schuit cost 54 st. plus taxes = 65 st., cf. also *Reisboek*, 114; Moryson, I, 47 (JJ, 230); Carr, 6-7; cf. Richards, 1692, 2r, took the "tide-hoy" from Rotterdam to Brielle for $5\frac{1}{8}$ st.; yachts, cf. *A Guide*, 1731, 7ff, f6:10 a day; Bargrave, 191v: "three ducats of gold"; Drake (1710), 18; Thornhill, 102; Bowrey, 27; Gordon, 125; cf. Nugent, I, 307, boat Sneek-Amsterdam f10; Moryson, III, 57 (JJ, 252-53), says boats Harlingen-Amsterdam were f5.

²⁸ Moryson, III, 56 (JJ, 251); Farrington, 8-9; Child, 5r; Gordon, 124, at Groningen his luggage was carried "on a sledge through the town to the other boat" for 12 st.; at Stroobos he paid 4st.; Locke, f. 34, p. 16, paid much for portorage in various places; Shaw, 27-28; Anon. 1662, 37v, for his luggage, Amsterdam - 3 st. - Haarlem - 3 st. - Leiden - 2 st. - The Hague; cf. also Orrery, 22 July 1686; Anon. 1662, 38v; Bowrey, 32-33, 76; Moryson, I, 200 (JJ, 248); Gordon, 124, he also paid 1 st. to the boy; Locke, l.c.

²⁹ Talman, 1698-99; Ray, 25; Moryson, I, 52 (JJ, 241); Penson, 13v; Erskine, 196-97; also to Haarlem, 113, and excursions on foot in the surroundings of Utrecht, 189 (to Vianen), 190 (to Den Bilt); Den Briel, n. 13; Walcheren, Skippon, 385; Parry, 100; Bargrave, 191v; Evelyn, *Vita*, 42; Penson, 35-36.

³⁰ In the column Waggon/Trekschuit amounts not succeeded by w or W indicate trekschuit fares; a Dutch hour is 1500 Rijnlandse roeden = 5621 metres = about 3 English miles (cf. Verhoeff, 127); the distances have been taken from *De groote Nederlandse stedenwyzer*, 1740; those between the ports on the Zuiderzee from *Stedenwyzer*, 1699. Distances are very approximative as they are always indicated in whole numbers and they differ from one table to another. *Stedenwyzer*, 1699 shows 7 hours from Amsterdam to Utrecht and 4 from Amsterdam to Haarlem. Distances in travel guides (Payen, Nugent) are not very reliable. The various amounts are mentioned by Moryson (1592-95)^a, (* = in winter), Brereton (1634)^b, Mundy (1640)^c, *Den wech naer het Spaa* (1655)^d, Anon. 1662^e, Monconys (1663)^f, Anon. 1669^g, Locke (1684)^h, Richards (1685-92)^k, Orrery (1686)^l, Careri (1686)^m, Gordon (1686)ⁿ, Ferrier (1687)^o, Carr (1688)^p, *Reisboek* (1689)^q, Child (1697)^r, Isham (1704-07)^s, *Some Necessary Directions* (1710)^t, *A Guide* (1731)^v, Nugent (1743)^w, De Vries, (c.1633)^{*a}, (after 1660)^x.

³¹ Moryson, III, 56 (JJ, 251); I, 50 (JJ, 237); Hughes, 383 (JJ, 300); Hope, 169; Bargrave, 90r; Walker, 5; Blainville, 47; Farrington, 9v; dung, Anon. 1699, 3; Leake, 17v-18r; cf. Farrington, 38; Anon. 1695-99, 9; Evelyn, 31; Child, 1r-v.

³² Child, 177, 14; trips in chaises, cf. n. 27; Mountague, 190-94; Shaw, 28.

³³ Bargrave, 90r; Shaw, 6; cf. idem, 43: "Necessity has made the best and pleasantest pavements in the world on land"; Lithgow (1637), 54; Walker, 2; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 87: "a work that might have become the old Romans"; *A Late Voyage*, 534; Browne, 93; idem, n. 47; Nicolson, 5r, says the road yielded more than f4,000 per annum, acc. to Vernon, 254, as much as f8,000.

³⁴ Anon. 1686, 5; cf. Talman, 1698, 19, says 22 boats; Brereton, 12, paid a total of 18 st. passage for the two ferries (a waggon and several people); cf. Isham, 7-8, describes this route in detail; also Lemaître, 274-75; Thames, Anon. 1699, 10; cf. Temple, *Works*, II, 350-51 (1814 ed.); sketch, Talman, 1698, 19; Orrery, 16 Aug. 1686; he paid 2 st. for the ferry at Gorkum and 4½ at Vianen (15-16 May); Shaw, 15; cf. Southwell, 64: "capable of holding 2 troops of horse at a time".

³⁵ Moryson, III, 56 (JJ, 251); dice, Skippon, 409, 411; Isham's driver, 99, was drunk after a visit to a fair; Skippon, 387; cf. *Reisboek*, 50, a wagoner who overturns his waggon pays a fine of f25 and may not drive for 4 weeks; Anon. 1662, 35v; advice, Baillie, 387; Fitzwilliam, 26r; Shaw, 28-29.

³⁶ Sleeping on board, Calamy, 141; Chamberlain, 305; Taylor (1707), 13, paid f2.4 per person for "the roof"; cf. Thornhill, Drake (1710), 18; Rawdon, 108; Reresby, 124, 126; shot at, Crowne, 59; Jenkins, I, 338; cf. Evelyn, 59, Spanish soldiers "lurking on the shore"; Brereton, 48; Carleton, 304; Evelyn, 60; Moryson, I, 48 (JJ, 233).

³⁷ Moryson, I, 51 (JJ, 239); Taylor (1707), 13; cf. Anon. 1662, 35v, had bought f2 worth of provisions for his journey from Dordt to Antwerp; Anon. 1695-99, 19; Reresby, 126; in his memoirs, 19, he remembered the scene differently: "We had laid but in provision for four days, so that we had near been starved had we not met with a boat of mussels, which without either bread or drink, I thought the best meat I ever ate"; Rawdon, 108-09; Perth, 46.

³⁸ Northleigh, 704, thought they looked like the "London barges, but not so fine"; Reresby, 124: "the passage boats of Hull"; Child, 5r: "like our company barges"; quotation, Mountague, 68-70; cf. also Brereton, 18-19; Moryson, III, 56 (JJ, 252); ropes, bridge, Child, 177, 5r-v; very full descriptions in Lemaître, 278-79 and De Vries, 80; Mountague, 68; shilling, Southwell, 50, at Alphen; Anon. 1699, 10, stopped at De Voetangel in Abcoude, cf. *Reisboek*, 529.

³⁹ Skippon, 404; Mountague, 68; Anon. 1699, 2; De Vries, 78-80, gives several 18th-century descriptions; cushion, Penson, 17r; Locke, accounts, p. 16, 2 cushions for 4 st.; Fraser, 91r; Farrington, 36; Thoresby, 18; Sidney, 43, 175; Shrewsbury, 481; Southwell, 50; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 78: "By this easy way of travelling an industrious man loses no time from his business, for he writes, or eats, or sleeps while he goes".

⁴⁰ Mundy, 62; canals constructed, Parival, *Dialogues*, 85; Brereton, 53; De Vries, 57, says the original investment was f266,000; the yearly return 6-7%; rollers, Overtoom, near Amsterdam, quotation, Aglionby, 278-79, 317, cf. Moryson, I, 200 (JJ, 244); Yonge, 62; Mundy, 64, (Gouda); dam near Rotterdam, cf. Erskine, 164.

⁴¹ Mountague, 70: "The prospect is pleasant, the Dutch are great improvers of land and planters of trees, of ornament as well as profit"; Shaw, 21; Child, 178, 22r; A'dam-Utrecht, Anon. 1699, 7: "Nothing can well be more pleasant than this canal"; begging, Brereton, 19; Evelyn, 33; Shaw, 2.

⁴² Thornhill, 54; collection, Skippon, 389; pedlars, Child, 178, 22v; *A New Description*, 105; eating, Skippon 411; Leake, 12-13.

⁴³ Farrington, 54; Sacheverell, impeached before the House of Lords, 1709; Pepys, 147; Penson, 13v; Anon. 1695-99, 19-20; Kenyon.

⁴⁴ *A Late Voyage*, 532; Orrery, 15 May, 1686 and 22 Jan., '87; Parry, 100; Clement, 2, 39v, 3r; Moryson, I, 200 (JJ, 249; Hyde, 624-25; return journey 3 days too, 630-31; Mor., III, 94 (JJ, 255).

⁴⁵ De Vries, 101; Crowne, 66-67; markers, Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 227); Holles, 85; Calamy, 176-78.

⁴⁶ Bowrey, 32-33, 76; *Reisboek*, 387, gives 7 inns with Dutch names in London and 4 at Harwich; Nugent, I, 43, recommends English houses; countrymen at inn, e.g. Evelyn, 44-45 and Vernon, 258; Browne, journal, 100v; Penson, 30v; Moryson, I, 48 (JJ, 232); Barlow, 247; Bowrey, 32-33; Shrewsbury, 477; at The Hague the English inns were among the best at the beginning of the 18th century, cf. n. 50.

⁴⁷ Doelen, Moryson, I, 44; Bargrave, 91v, 92v; idem, 192r, at Dordt, the saloon of the Doelen was "adorned with incomparable pictures of the magistrates and Burghers of the city, all in full proportion and in exquisite postures"; cf. Mountague, 182, in Amsterdam: "We arrived to the Dooly-House, a noted tavern, where many of the trained band officers are very well drawn in good paint in a great drinking room"; Charles II, Fraser, 92r; Moody, 34r; a Dutch gentleman in 1654 paid f30 for 3 days at the Herenlogement, cf., *Rotterdamsch jaarboekje* (1936), p. 3; free acc., Fitzwilliam, 17v; Blainville, 37-38, probably read about it in the Dutch ed. of Browne (1682, p. 19 or 1696, p. 21), after 1686 this service to travellers was discontinued in Amsterdam, cf. Jansen, 113; Fraser, cf. Appendix 4, Utrecht, Leiden, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam, Dordt.

⁴⁸ Mountague, 23; Moryson, III, 97 (JJ, 258-59); Thornhill, 47; idem, 35: "Hung beef and good butter being the fare and cheese with carraway seeds in it, to us not overpleasant, and mol, a kind of bottled small oat ale, which comes from Nijmegen

only"; Ray, 43-44; Chiswell, 11; Brereton, 33: "We had [...] a brave boiled piece of beef and two curious dainty bag-puddings, the one of suet, flower and almonds, the other with raisins and ordinary spices, an excellent good one; and at latter end of dinner a gammon of Westphalia bacon sliced in great pieces; green leaves were strewed upon the table when covered; here dainty strawberries and cream"; *The Politia*, 634; Papillon, 261, 266; Harris, 62: "Their food is commonly fish and they do generally seem to like it and prefer it to flesh for gusto as well as cheapness"; Mountague, 17, 59, 204; cf. Farrington, 61: "Fish and flesh and wildfowl seem to be pretty plentiful and cheap, but they miserably spoil it for an English palate by their dressing."

⁴⁹ Harris, 63; claret, cf. p. 94; Bargrave, 95r; Moody, 37v; Mountague, 211-12; cf. Brereton, 56, quoted in chap. 3, p. 137; Harris, 62-64; Moryson, III, 99 (JJ, 261-62); Haarlem: Fitzwilliam, 27r; cf. Roch, 105: "A sort of beer brewed with water of the Stygian Lake, for it was so black and thick that I could not let it down"; Breda: Fitzwilliam, 12r; Lithgow (1637), 45.

⁵⁰ Moryson, I, 46-50; III, 57; cf. Davidson and Gray, 408-11; 442-43. In 1613 a bed in the Scottish house at Veere was 2 st., meals were 6-8 st. In 1719 a bed was 2 st. and a meal 10 st. The best meal consisted of beef or mutton or any other meat with bread and beer "as is reasonable" and cheese and fruit. A bed which was shared cost 1 st.; clean sheets and pillowslips were provided every 15 days; Bowrey, 77; cf. Mountague, 16: "The ordinaries are the best and cheapest places to eat at, for then you know your expense which otherwise is at the will and pleasure of your landlord, who arbitrarily imposes upon you; and this without redress, for if you complain to the magistrate he will give it against you and you must pay it"; Farrington, 29; Clerk, Correspondence, 26 Jan. 1695; Hollings, 17 April, 1705; Thornhill, 47; Dorset, 26 Feb., 19 March, a servant paid 2-3 st. for his lodging in The Hague; cf. Parival, *Dialogues*, 87, French inns at The Hague serve good, cheap meals without wine; at good inns with good company one pays 36 st.; at 13 out of the 21 Dutch inns in Payen, meals cost 15-20 st.; at only 5, prices were higher, viz. 24, 25 and 40 st.; cf. *The Present State*, 206-08, on the "Parlement d'Angleterre" at The Hague: "It requires good economy to come off for 15 sh. or a guinea a day [...], but the Auberge or Ordinary [...] costs only 5 or 6 sh. The dinner is a florin or 20 pence of our money and the bottle of wine another (or the pint 10 pence) so that one may dine there for half a crown as elegantly as at the two English houses for half a guinea or 15 shillings"; price beds, Ray, 44; Locke (accounts, p. 18-19) paid 4½ or 6 st. for a bed; price beer and wine at Rotterdam, prices fixed by the magistrates (17th c.), Rhenish 12 st., Moselle, 8 st., French sweet 6 st., beer 2 st., cf. *Rotterdamsch jaarboekje* (1945), p. 8; these prices generally agree with those given by travellers, Thornhill, 37, 59, often drank the more expensive wines.

⁵¹ Bowrey, 77; cf. Orrery's governor paid £28 for 3 days at an inn at Amsterdam for 4 people (July 11, 1686).

⁵² Pepys, 139; Anon. 1695-99, 8; Locke, 109; cf. H. Walpole, 11 June 1709 (State Papers, Holland 232): "The hosts use strangers when they object against the reckoning and ask for particulars, double the bill and force them to pay it", in: Coombs, 199; cf. Lassels, preface: "their rude exacting upon Noblemen, strangers in their inns, for their quality's sake only"; Pepys, 143; Fitzwilliam, 15r; British tourists complained about this everywhere in Europe, cf. Black, 141-42; Chiswell, 10v; Shaw, 43, is an exception: "Nor are their inns so exacting as I expected"; Reresby, 137; Harris, 59-60; Moody, 35v-36r; Baillie, 386: "At Rotterdam avoid the English house, the most

impertinently imposing of any we met with"; idem, 310: "Our entertainment there [...] 2 dinners, 2 breakfasts and 2 suppers, f96:15" for ten persons; Walker, 5, usher 1669-1703, information from Somerset Record Office, Taunton.

⁵³ Shaw, 9, at Loo; Bargrave, 102r; Farrington, 63, Germany: "No other places to eat or sleep in but German stoves"; cf. Browne, letter VI; Thornhill, 37-38; I, 33, sketch; Carleton, 13; landlady, Anon. 1669, at Hoorn; beds, Ray, 44; Clement, 3r: "They are so parsimonious of room in their houses, that even in the best they make the stairs so steep and narrow [...]"; cf. Farrington, 37: "steep pair of stairs worse than a ladder"; candles, Mountague, 226; Jouvin, 48, borrowed from *The Dutch Tutor*, a textbook with dialogues in Dutch and English; a common subject in early books for learners of foreign languages, cf. Mok, 9, and Osselton, 14-15; Farrington, 43; Taylor (1707), 6-7; Fitzwilliam, 12r; Moryson, I, 43 (JJ, 221); Pepys, 150; Dunton, 209-10.

⁵⁴ Dunton, 200; Erskine, 109; Perth, 45; Quakers, Haistwell, 239, 254; Penn, 67; Furly, cf. Locke, n. 1; Nimmo, 88; Papillon, 256-64; Calamy, 142, 171, arrived with letters of recommendation; Cunningham, 26 April and 17 May 1686; Halma, cf. Kelly, 33; Orrery paid f23:10 a week for himself, his governor and a servant (16-25 May); MacKenzie, 100, gives the prices in sterling, pension, 15 shillings a week; 7 sh. for dinner at an ordinary and breakfast and supper not "much under a crown"; room, not under 4 shillings; cf. *The Present State*, 385, board and lodging at Utrecht about f7 a week (30 st. room, ½ guinea meals); Bérard, accounts, 46; Wodrow, *Correspondence*, xliii; cf. Clerk, *Correspondence* 26 Jan. 1695: full pension at Leiden was 330-350 guilders a year; his room was f50 a year and his meals cost him about 15 stuivers a day; Moryson, I, 46, 51 (JJ, 227, 239-40): "I hired a chamber for which, for my bed, sheets, tablecloths, towels and dressing of my meat I paid 25 st. weekly. I bought my own meat."

⁵⁵ Advice, cf. Wright, 78, Greville, 304; Dunton, 210; Penson, 10r; Browne, n. 79; Evelyn, 44-45; Vernon, 258, a.o. Sir George Downing's son with his companions; Brereton, 10-11, 21, 25, 67; Dunton, 200-01, 211, and Calamy, 144-46, give several written portraits of ministers at Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht; Skippon, 400; Hill, cf. Browne, n. 8. and letters, 18r; Isham, 101; Bargrave, 94r.

⁵⁶ Washerwomen, Higgs, 125, paid f20 for 6 months; barber, Moryson, Hughes, 373 (JJ, 289): "They wash men's beards in dregs of beer, before they shave them with the razor, as ours do with hot water and seete balls"; Shaw, 28: "I was obliged to send for four barbers successively, e'er I could have one who knew how to tie up my wig"; doctor, Brereton, 46-47, the ordinary fee was 3 st. which later became 6 st. (Yonge, 103); Orrery, 8 Nov., 1686: "Given to the man that cleaned my Lord's teeth 63 st."; Shaw, 15-16; Mountague, 53-54; distance, Aglionby, 352; people watch, Shrewsbury, 482; Reresby, 136; Lorkin, 200; Mountague, 231-32.

⁵⁷ Diplomats, Plumer, 208v, Vernon, 254; Sidney, 56, used an interpreter; Clerk, 16, spent many musical evenings with his friend Boerhaave, being invited to perform "in all the best companies at Leiden, Amsterdam and elsewhere", 35; Douglas, cf. Cunningham, 30 Aug. 1686; Thoresby, 20, also 17, 19; Erskine, 208; Molyneux, 477; Quaker interpreters, Northleigh, 704, Caton, 35: "but oh, how did we suffer for want of a good interpreter"; John Taylor (1667, p. 32) travelled with a woman as an interpreter; Haistwell, 238: "Benj. Furly and John Claus did interpret to the Dutch people"; Story, 42: "William Sewel"; idem, 83: "accompanied by our ancient friend Jacob Claus, an old servant of Truth and of the ministry as an interpreter" (John and Jacob Claus, two brothers, cf. Kannegieter, 135).

⁵⁸ Browne, Keynes IV, letter 22; duration, often no longer than 3-6 weeks; Browne, n. 41 and introd.; other Dutch inscriptions in Skippon, 398, Northleigh, 705, Penson, 17v; babies, Chamberlain, II, 179; Drake (1710), 7; Dunton, 209; Northleigh, 704; Leake, 18r, i.e. farmers and farmers' wives going to the fair.

⁵⁹ Bowrey, 38-41; Taylor (1707), 81-82; De Ruyter, Vernon, 259; P. of O., Turnour, 3; Penson, 24v; Dutch good at languages, Reresby, 136 (prob. from Barclay): "especially French and English, which they are taught at school as well as their own"; cf. also Moryson, Hughes, 377-78 (JJ, 294-95); French spoken, Pepys, 139; cf. Mountague, 165-66, French more used than Latin; Flecknoe, 104; study French, Francis Osborne in Wright, 73; also Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 227), Howell, *F.L.*, 27 and many students, e.g. Lord Irwin, 18 June, 1704: "chez Monsieur Bobineau, teinturier françois à Delft en Hollande"; Huguenots, Burnet, *O.M.*, 248, Erskine, 164, Isham, 13, Mountague, 184; Perth, 45; Bargrave, 95v.

⁶⁰ Moryson, III, 13; Cliffe, 79-80; Howell, *Instructions*, 26; Frank-Van Westrienen, 82-83; Verney, III, 89-90; Bérard, 44, 123; Irwin, 18 June, 1704; Dorset, 20 March; "good fashion", Coppin, 32; The Hague dear, cf. Raymond, 32; Moryson, I, 51 (JJ, 239); Haley, *An English Diplomat*, 223; Perth, 14; MacKenzie, 100; Clerk, 19; acc. to Roelevink, 136, a student at Utrecht in the 19th century could live on *f*930 a year, i.e. less than £100; Isham, had £200 a year, cf. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd ser., 1 (1907), 188; Moryson, *passim*; Browne, introd., n. 3; Hales, 99; Bowrey, 73; cf. De Muinck, 184-91, a rich Dutchman travelling 1683-1706, spent *f*8:13 a day; cf. Baedeker, 1881, xxii: "The total cost of a tour in Holland will be *f*13:15 a day. The 'voyageur en garçon' may reduce his expenditure to one half of this sum by breakfasting at the cafés, dining at unpretending restaurants and avoiding the more expensive hotels."

⁶¹ Rates of exchange, Posthumus, I, 590-95; charges, Frank-Van Westrienen, 128: 1-3 per cent.; Clerk, Correspondence, 21 Feb. 1696 and 19 Dec. 1695; Cunningham, 11 Oct. 1686 and 17 March 1687, writes the exchange between Edinburgh and Holland was not under 15 per cent. "Mr. Thomson [at Rotterdam] pays best"; Haccius, 18 June 1704; Baillie, 386; Brereton, 68-69; Leake, 14r, Mr. Solomon Baruch Louzada; Bowrey, 34, Mr. Granada; Chiswell, 11v; Skippon, 407, 385, merchants "seldom trust those that bring them bills of exchange [...] further than their value extends"; also problems cashing money, Hammond, 62v; Leake, 14r, 16r, 19r; cf. Orrery's governor paid the "shipman" *f*2:10 for bringing his money from Rotterdam to Utrecht, he paid 6 st. for the bag (14 Dec., 1686); Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 226); travelling to get money, cf. also, Evelyn, 60; Anon. 1699, 13, from Utrecht to Amsterdam.

⁶² Carr, 6; cf. Penson, 32r, he returned from Utrecht to Amsterdam, where "I furnished myself with Spanish money" for his journey through Flanders; Penson, 29r-v; many coins, cf. Locke, n. 67; Payen, 66-67; cf. Bowrey, 58, at Flushing: "Holland guilders and shillings and the 2 stiver pieces with the lion goes here and the single stiver with the lion and the arrows, but the other stivers which goes in Holland, will not go here"; Walker, 7-8; Berry, 11v: "They were coining of silver"; Hope, 159, talked with the mint master; Coryat, 366, and Isham, 9, give the inscriptions on the building; Calamy, 141-42; Posthumus, I, 590-5, in 1688 the exchange rate was 35.7 Dutch schellings for a pound; the coins weighed 17.3 gr. each, cf. Van Gelder, 235; 28 st. piece described by Jouvin, 672.

CHAPTER III

SIGHTSEEING

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE TOWNS

Panoramic view

One of the first things tourists were supposed to do on arriving in a new town was to look for an elevated position offering them a general view of the town and its surroundings. In many cities the ramparts were freely accessible and served as promenades. About one hour was needed to walk around Utrecht, but the tour of Den Bosch took much longer. Edward Southwell, who set out on this walk immediately after his arrival, "found the place so large I could not do much above the better half". Isham enjoyed his stroll on the fortifications of Franeker and appreciated the vista which was made possible by the absence of a parapet. An alternative method of getting a panoramic view was to climb steeples, which in ordinary circumstances (not e.g. in wartime) were open to the public. Caretakers in Amsterdam received "a vast deal of money" from the 1 or 2 stuivers admission fee. During the steep ascent visitors carefully counted the steps, which enabled them to calculate the height of the building. Needless to say, the figures given do not always agree, Erskine counted 350 steps in the tower at Utrecht to Browne's 470. According to Farrington, the height of the stadhuis in Amsterdam ("to the chimes") was "189 steps, which at 6 inches a step is 94 foot and a half".¹

On a clear day, tourists who had struggled up spiral staircases and steep ladders were well rewarded. To Peter Mundy, standing on the tower of the Westerkerk in Amsterdam, Leiden seemed only a few miles distant. From the top of St. Laurence's at Rotterdam, Nicolson was able to distinguish a large number of villages and towns, among which Delft, The Hague and Dordt; from this tower John Erskine could even see as far as Utrecht. However, it was possibly more rewarding to look down and try to locate the main public buildings and observe the form of the town. Amsterdam "lay in length from the north to the south, but adding the plot of the new city it is of a round

form", wrote Moryson. "Almost like a crescent", wrote a hundred years later another tourist. Rotterdam was "of a triangular figure"; Dordt looked like a galley and Bergen op Zoom like a lute, because "many poor houses built in the form of a lute's neck" had been added to the rest of the city, which was almost round. Edward Browne was struck by the irregularity of the roofs of the houses in Amsterdam, a marked contrast with the agreeable impression of order he had had when looking upwards.²

Apart from the view there were, in many cases, the bells. At the top of the tower in Utrecht (the highest of the country) the city musician played for Penson a concert of "English and Dutch tunes" on the chimes, consisting of 44 bells. In Zwolle Bargrave, who had heard chimes in Danzig, listened to "several tunes of psalms" being played "by a man with hammers in his hands, [striking] double notes and they in division, both in tune and time, very much like an organ; so musically that till I hear something equal I shall term it *Sans Pareil*". Apparently tourists were not always satisfied with the music, for at least one took a more tangible souvenir down with him: when after his arrival in Haarlem John Walker wished to look at the famous Damietta bells, they were not shown "because some pilfering Frenchman going up to see them had conveyed away the clapper".³

Cities in the east and south

The towns in the eastern provinces did not look very impressive to tourists from Britain. Philip Skippon wrote about Den Bosch, whose houses were mostly of wood, that "the streets [were] indifferently paved and the houses boarded on the outside like the houses in the Scots cities". Another tourist noted about Arnhem: "Here the neatness of the Hollanders begins sensibly to diminish." However, travellers just arriving from Germany saw this city in a different perspective. One of them was struck by the good order of the place with "trees almost before every door or vines that cover their windows with a pleasing green". This discrepancy in appreciation of the various tourists is particularly striking in connection with Utrecht, the largest town outside Holland and a halting stage on almost everybody's itinerary. William Lord Fitzwilliam, who had not yet been in Holland, said the town was "one of the fairest and well-built places of the Low Countries", but John Ray, who also travelled in 1663, remarked: "The streets and building [fall] far short of the elegancy, beauty and cleanliness of those in Holland, much like the houses and streets of our

English towns." Moryson, who made his tour 70 years earlier, had also noticed that the houses were old and "covered on the outside with boards"; Mountague thought Utrecht looked "like one of our old cities".⁴

However, the cities in the east and south of the United Provinces surpassed those of Holland in one respect: their fortifications. It has already been mentioned that numerous tourists came to see the sieges conducted by Prince Maurice and Frederic Henry at the beginning of the century. The indefatigable traveller William Lithgow reports that as many as 300,000 people stood watching when the Spaniards were forced to leave Breda after it had been taken in 1637. The author of a pamphlet about the siege of Bergen op Zoom (1622) wrote that even "fair ladies" had come to watch, "who were so far from artificial effeminateness, that they scorned the smoke of powder and knew [...] that true beauty would not, nor could not be impaired with a little dust and vapours of a thickned air". In later periods, fortresses remained important sights and all tourists, women included, made the rounds of the fortifications, pacing the bulwarks and noting their dimensions. For specialists, there was a lot to be learned from these vast works built after the most modern designs. Lieut.-Colonel Jacob Richards, a military engineer who had been sent abroad to study modern fortifications on the Continent, spent two days on the ramparts of Den Bosch and a full week in Maastricht, talking with military engineers, taking notes and making sketches.⁵

An important fort in the north-east of the country was Coevorden, guarding a strategic route through the moors, built according to a geometrical pattern, which did not have "its like in the world". Lieutenant-Colonel Brosman gave Fitzwilliam permission to take a walk on the ramparts, of which the visitor gave a long technical description. The town was "surrounded with seven bulwarks called like the seven United Provinces [...] Each face of a bulwark is 90 of my paces long or thereabouts, each flanc 45 and the courtine 170 paces; the gorge is proportionably big". At Nieuwe Schans, a small fort on the frontier about 80 kilometres further north, Farrington was pleased to see evidence of the same good management of affairs he had seen in Holland. Since there was no threat of war at that time (1710), only a few cannon were on the ramparts, "the Dutch being too prudent a people to expose their cannon and carriages to the injuries of the weather". Travellers differed in their opinions about the defences of Nijmegen but those of Maastricht were impressive. An anonymous

tourist with an interest in military engineering wrote that as an extra protection a small bastion was being built on one of the hills nearby. "There is a way to it underground whereby the men may be perpetually relieved." Isham saw a model of these fortifications in a gallery at the Old Court in The Hague.⁶

The fortifications surrounding Grave, Den Bosch, Breda, and Bergen op Zoom in Brabant, are more frequently mentioned and described. At the end of the century, Bergen op Zoom, which had always been a very strong place, attracted many visitors curious to inspect the "masterpiece" of the famous military engineer Menno van Coehoorn. Isham was given a guided tour by a soldier and one of the chief engineer's assistants, and he concluded that "the strength of the place" consisted chiefly "in the subterranean works". In 1711 only four of the seven bastions on the land-side had been finished, but it already looked like "a most costly work". The only fort in the province of Holland that could compare with those on the frontiers was Naarden, about four hours from Amsterdam and not too far for a day trip, "all travellers go to see it". According to Mountague, the fortifications had cost £600,000 and could hold a garrison of 8,000 to 10,000 soldiers; Isham saw 93 "pieces of cannon". William Brockman thought Naarden had "the most regular works in Europe" and another tourist wrote: "The walls are made of rush and stone and the ramparts are covered with grass and brushes. You see nothing but green and white agreeably intermixed. The sea goes round it in two large ditches." He stated that he had never seen anything comparable to it.⁷

Cities in Holland, Zeeland and Friesland

In most cities of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland travellers hardly seemed to notice the fortifications, but they wrote extensively about the extreme care with which householders looked after their property, every house resembling "a little paradise". According to Robert Bargrave the houses were "superstitiously neat" and "fitter for sight than use", and the streets in Holland were "cleaner than most houses in other countries". No wonder that tourists felt obliged to give detailed descriptions of cities like Rotterdam, Leiden and Amsterdam. Bargrave for instance summarized his general impressions of Amsterdam as follows:

It is built all upon piles, [...] the channel runs through almost all their streets, neatly planted on either side with rows of shady trees; the streets are curiously paved and made somewhat shelving for conveyance of

sullage into the channel, which is everywhere kept in with even handsome walls. The buildings are stately and so uniform without, that a whole street seems but one continued house.

James Fraser wrote:

The houses are stately buildings of stone and brick and every house with the end towards the high street, and before every door paved with marble, white, black, blue, red or other colours [...] Upon the side of the channels stand their office houses of painted wood and closed, like a box; a man's picture upon one door, a woman's picture on the other successively all along, so that a man cannot pass 200 feet in Amsterdam streets without a house of office that he may ease himself at his pleasure.

Bowrey noted in his journal: "The canals are generally about 50 foot wide and admit of laden vessels. The houses stand about 40 foot back from the canals with a row of trees between." One thing that surprised Skippon was that they leaned over a little; Thomas Penson made an attempt at humour: they "seemed to threaten to fall on our heads". Simon Clement made a small sketch and added: "They are adorned with a kind of battlements gradually rising up to the top as described in the margin."⁸

In the course of the century, several cities, particularly Amsterdam, were substantially enlarged and more than one traveller commented on the construction work. An unusual sight must have been the tall masts, sometimes as long as 40 feet, being driven into the ground to form the necessary foundations, often as costly as the houses themselves. According to Parival as many as 6334 piles supported the tower of the New Church at Amsterdam. Several travellers refer to another tour de force by which engineers, digging under the foundations, had managed the straighten the steeple of the great church in Rotterdam. Sir William Brereton watched a group of 40 men, who in half an hour drove home a tall piece of timber. Mundy was reminded of people ringing "some great bell" and added: "These timbers are said to continue hundreds of years sound, as long as they lie in the moist earth from the air." As it was said that coaches would shake the foundations of the houses, only a limited number of people in Amsterdam were allowed to use them. The local means of transport was "the body of a coach upon a sledge without wheels" and according to a tourist only "fit for infirm and old people". Joseph Taylor found them very uncomfortable and when, out of curiosity, Shaw tried one, he did not "have the patience to endure it".⁹

It seems that tourists genuinely admired this largely man-made environment. Taylor noted how easily ("by a boy or a woman") bridges could be opened and ships could unload at the very door of a merchant's house. "For a stiver, which is put into a shoe or some such thing [...] the ships pass every bridge, without lowering their masts or losing any time." Apart from their undeniable advantage to the economy, the canals were also very pretty. An Utrecht student wrote about those in Rotterdam:

One cannot imagine a pleasanter place, especially in summer when the trees are all green, which with the tops of the houses, mixed with the masts and streamers of so many vessels as are continually here, make the most singular and agreeable prospect in the world, especially at a convenient distance.

His impressions of the canals in Amsterdam were much the same: "I believe in all Europe one cannot see a lovelier prospect within a town, than on these grachts, especially in summer when the leaves are green." Here numerous streetlamps, "one to two dwellings" burned till late at night "to answer the ends of business or conversation". Everywhere there were trees, chimes rang out each quarter of an hour and if it had not been so difficult to get used to the smell of the boats and the brackish water the canals would have made of this "city in a wood" "the Paradise of the world".¹⁰

VISITING THE PRINCIPAL SIGHTS

Tourist guides

Tourists who took their sightseeing seriously did not set out unaccompanied, but were shown around by their hosts, bankers, the English minister or a local scholar to whom they had taken a letter of introduction. During his stay at Utrecht as a student John Erskine sometimes escorted visiting countrymen. Farrington, who usually hired a guide, began his sightseeing programme in Arnhem "as soon as it was light" and before half past eight, when he left for Zutphen, he had learned a great deal about the history of the capital of Gelderland. In The Hague Samuel Pepys was conducted by a Dutch schoolmaster who "spoke good English and French", but during his visit to Delft he may, like many others, have had to rely on a book because his guide, a smith's boy, "could speak nothing but Dutch". William Bromley

had a special guidebook “printed in Holland’s Dutch” to help him study the windows in the church at Gouda and Penson’s detailed descriptions may well come from the same source. Edward Southwell did not feel too happy about the man who showed him the antiquities of Nijmegen, “one of the town bailiffs, a Scotsman, who has retained very little of his natural language but the swearing part”. This may have been the same person whose story did not fully agree with the guidebook, as Isham found out when he checked some details for his travel journal. An anecdote that was told to tourists who visited the “mount” in the centre of Leiden had probably at one time been made up by the attendants themselves. During the siege of 1574, a fish had been caught in the deep well, which according to guidebooks was connected to the sea at Katwijk by a subterranean conduit. The fish had been shown to the Spaniards, or (according to another version) thrown over the ramparts together with a loaf, to give them the impression that there was no shortage of food in town. Walker suggests there were more fish, which enabled the inhabitants to persevere until at last the siege was raised.¹¹

Binnenhof and courts in The Hague

In The Hague the most important places of interest were the buildings on the Binnenhof and the various houses of the Prince of Orange, who often took his meals under the curious eyes of tourists. Skippon was surprised that it was so easy to get into the palace, “nobody stopping us with jealous questions, whither go you etc.”. Sir James Hope saw how Mary Stuart, Frederic Henry’s daughter-in-law, was being “served à la reine”. James Yonge commented on William III: “a thin young man, about 16 years old; he seemed to be bent in his back.” In the first half of the century many travelling cavaliers also paid a courtesy visit to the Queen of Bohemia, a daughter of James I, who resided in The Hague until after the Restoration.¹²

The Great Hall on the Binnenhof looked like Westminster Hall and was used by booksellers, but apart from the flags taken from enemy ships it was of no particular interest. The meeting rooms of the States General (renewed 1697) and the States of Holland (finished 1669) were more elegantly decorated. According to Bowrey, the former was

about 50 ft. long and 20 ft. broad [and] well adorned with the pictures of King William, of his father, of Prince Henry Frederik, of Prince William the first and his two sons, all in full proportion and seemingly

well done; with other good paintings on the ceiling and gilded moulding [...] In it sit the deputies of the States General, who are 7, with a president who sits in the middle of the table; and there is a chair for the King of England when he comes.

The room of the States of Holland was a "fine spacious lofty room, with very fine hangings [...] with their arms curiously woven in them". Human figures worked into the tapestries seemed to look down from a gallery. When the servant who showed the room darkened it a little, it was "as if they were all alive, nodding their heads and talking to each other". John Leake particularly liked a painting "representing Mars with all the terror and blaze of war about him; another of Liberty, as soft and charming as a British Fancy ever represented the lovely costly creature".¹³

Town halls with collections of art and antiquities

Although tourists in The Hague were also advised "to see the town-house, [...] an ancient structure, with a high tower from whence you have a fair prospect over the sea", it is rarely mentioned. Even in other towns, where town halls were among the major sights, we rarely find extensive descriptions, possibly because travellers rarely knew the appropriate architectural terminology. In Middelburg the town hall (1520) was "adorned with many goodly images", that of Delft (1620) was a "very stately pile" and the one in Haarlem (14th cent., rest. 1630) "very brave". Modern town halls were described at greater length: Coryat (1608) wrote about the stadhuis of Flushing, under construction since 1594, that it was "like to be a very magnificent work". Typically, Brereton's praise for the stadhuis at Delft, which had just been rebuilt after a fire ("the finest statehouse said to be in the seventeen provinces"), was not shared by Child, who saw it in the 1690s. Leake wrote about the town hall of Enkhuizen (1686-8) that it was "built à la mode Romaine and [...] second to none in these parts but that of Amsterdam". John Talman, the son of the famous architect, who made a leisurely tour of the eastern provinces, gave a relatively lengthy description of the stadhuis in Nijmegen (16th c.; rest. 1663), something other people hardly thought worth mentioning. He even made two sketches, it was

a genteel stone building but something after the old mode; it is 6 windows in front and 3 storeys high and flat at the top; between the windows of the middle storey are small stone figures standing on pedestals supported by modillions.

The majority of tourists saved their ink and creativity for a description of the collections of art and antiquities behind the façades. Frequently mentioned are the Roman inscriptions at Nijmegen, the paintings at Leiden, and at Haarlem the books printed by Coster, which were "kept under lock and key by the magistrate", or according to Misson, "in a casket of silver and wrapped in silk". With much trouble Charles Ellis obtained permission to see them; the first book appeared "not to be Donatus, as the *Inscriptiones Hollandicae* say, nor Vergil or Tully's Offices, as others have acquainted the world; but a Dutch piece of theology". Others commented on the large swords with which the Spaniards had beheaded 500 soldiers in 1563. In Delft several travellers saw a curious wooden barrel in which adulterous women were paraded through the town, "her head coming out at the hole and the rest hanging on her shoulders".¹⁴

The new town hall of Amsterdam, built by Jacob van Campen and inaugurated in 1655, was the most impressive building in the country. It stood "on the Dam [...], a large pavement bigger than the palace yard at Westminster, but much neater". It was built "of a fair white stone and very much according to the exactest rules of architecture". Robert Bargrave, who saw it a few years after construction work had started in 1648, observed the stone carvers at work and wrote: "When its embellishments shall be proportioned to its foundations and walls, [it] will without question exceed those in all the cities; one room is already towards finishing, which is to be their judgement seat on Life and Death." Some years later Sir John Reresby commented: it "is certainly for carved stone on the outside, and quantity of marble within, the finest piece of the kind in Europe". Edward Browne mentions the Atlas with a globe on his shoulders soon to be put on the roof. According to a travel guide it was possible to look out over the city from within this globe. The arms painter Thomas Penson particularly liked the tower with the chimes, on which a little boy played a sonata for Joseph Taylor. A recurring point of criticism was the fact that the huge edifice (according to Browne even wider than St. Peter's in Rome) was completely out of proportion with the surroundings; that the entrance, seven low arches, was not impressive enough and that the lower part was generally too dark. This criticism was countered by the argument that the building had been "contrived for strength as well as beauty", for it also served as a prison, "a magazine of arms" (which did not live up to Brockman's expectations) and bank. In this legendary bank, "which few are permitted to see", the

merchant Thomas Bowrey was shown "the book wherein every man's account stands [...], about the bigness of a church bible and [...] kept in a place cut out of the main stone in the building with a copper door to prevent fire".¹⁵

Young Justinian Isham like most others greatly admired the carved work of the building, especially that in the Judgement Hall, where death sentences were read out, and the sculpture over a door upstairs in which Faithfulness was represented "by a dog who keeps his paws upon his murdered master". At the time of his visit many sculptures were "covered to keep them from the dust of the workmen". Isham also commented on the paintings, one of which showed "Moses bringing the law to the people"; others represented scenes from Roman history. Farrington, who could not help smiling when the guide referred to Fabius and Curius as "burgomasters of Rome", realized that the paintings were "admirably adapted to the rooms" in which they had been hung. Thus "the pictures in the hall of audience [could be] seen to be a decent manner of telling princes that the Lords of Amsterdam are not to be corrupted by the Pyrrhus of this Age". Montague Drake detected a picture of the devil on the ceiling, who always looked the spectator in the face, no matter where he was standing. Grey Neville noticed "a picture of the ancient Dutch at a great feast (and the painter did [included] himself); [...] very good pictures, but we were not told by whom". On the pavement of the Great Hall Isham "saw three demi-globes, two terrestrial and the other celestial", about which the author of a travel guide remarked:

It is greatly to be feared lest this curious workmanship will be spoiled in a little time by reason of the infinite numbers of people that tread upon it every day, walking in the hall, and must necessarily wear it out with their feet.

When Taylor and Isham made their visits (1704-07) "the painting of the plafond [was] not yet finished" and workmen were "putting daily marble in, [...] which work goes on slowly enough". Tourists were told there was no hurry for the building to be completed on account of a prophesy ("An old woman's story" according to Isham) that said: "when the Stadhouse shall be finished, the State shall be changed". Even so the building had already cost a fabulous amount of money. Various sums are mentioned but Bowrey gives the round figure of "one million of pounds sterling that an account was kept of, and abundance more that there is no account of".¹⁶

Other public collections, particularly those of the university of Leiden

Town halls were not the only places where public collections could be seen. Many interesting objects were on show in the library of St. Mary's church at Utrecht, which, apart from old books, contained some ancient statues and unicorns' horns. In the "rarity chamber" at Den Bosch Richards saw "a portrait of our Saviour done upon a copper plate in the time of Tiberius Caesar". Southwell particularly noted the skeletons, some of which were supposed to teach the public to shun vice and crime: in one room there were "all sorts of bodies in very ridiculous postures and habits. There are three brothers, who were highwaymen and hanged; two of them are playing at cards, the third is smoking and drinking". Mechanical devices enabled the skeletons to move: they "wag their chops at you and do many antic tricks"; catalogues of the collection were available to visitors. Ellis was very surprised to find something of this kind in Den Bosch "considering there is no university, schools or gardens nor any professors"; as far as he knew no English traveller had yet reported on its existence.¹⁷

The best known collection of curiosities belonged to the university of Leiden, which according to Fitzwilliam had been founded with great solemnities in 1575. He also noted that it was "one of the most famous [...] of Europe, not so much for colleges (wherewith Oxford and Cambridge abound) but by reason of its diligent and learned professors of all sort of sciences and their method of teaching young youth". A London merchant did not feel that the lack of fine buildings constituted a serious drawback. It was more than offset by the fact that Leiden was "three times as big [as Oxford] and the houses and streets [were] much neater and better built". Lectures were given in a brick building two storeys high not unlike Eton college and certainly not as "magnificent" as was suggested on an inscription over the door. Alexander Cunningham noticed that "camlet cloaks [were] out of fashion [and that] many students of ordinary quality [wore] scarlet ones", so he felt obliged to buy one for his pupil. Drake noted that the students "commonly [went] about in their nightgowns and in the night [carried] swords to guard them against the insults of the townsmen". Although duelling was strictly forbidden it was "almost impossible to be avoided [...] considering the various mixture of so many nations". During Isham's visit to Leiden two students, a German and a Dutchman, had fought. "The latter was killed on the place [and] the German, mortally wounded", died the day after. "Disorders" were probably as frequent here as at Utrecht, where according to Bromley

students "when in drink [showed] their bravery by rambling the town over, scouring and scraping the streets with their drawn swords and affronting those who have the misfortune to meet them".¹⁸

In the garret of the academy building and in the yard was the printing press, "famous for the fine characters of Mons. Jean Elsevier", but "much decayed" under his heirs when Ellis Veryard saw it. Apart from theses, it apparently was used to produce souvenirs, since a tourist in 1712 had his name printed "for a memorandum". In this building were also a chemical laboratory and a tower for astronomical observations. The university library, where the English minister, Mr. Newcomen, took Ray and his companions, was in the same building as the English church and the anatomy theatre. It was "very indifferently furnished with books, and these that were there, not in order, nor well kept". In the middle of the room was "a long table made shelving on each side to lay books on" and round about the room were pictures of Prince William of Orange, Erasmus and famous professors of the university, among whom Jos. Scaliger, who had left his books to the library. The collection of about 1300 Oriental manuscripts constituted a real treasure; Veryard was shown an Arabic treatise by Ahmedi, which Prof. Uchtman "had some thoughts of turning into Latin and rendering public".¹⁹

Both Sir William Brereton and Philip Skippon saw professor Vorstius lecture to students in the "physic garden". "His manner is to take a whole bed, four yards long and one broad, and to discourse of the nature and quality of every herb and plant growing therein, which he points out with his staff when he begins to speak thereof." This smallish garden of simples (one gentleman joked: "indeed I came out no wiser than I came in"), was only about an acre in surface "not so big as a fourth part of ours at Oxford". "All the ground divided and boxed with tiles of a vast size and the names of the herbs upon the loaded pots set in the ground." "For a small recompense of four or five crowns" the gardener was always ready to assist students, who needed his permission if they wished to gather herbs "to make an herbarius vivus". Plants were sent to this garden from all over the world, "the States General entertaining a botanist in the Indies purposely to supply it with exotics". According to James Fraser there were "700 species of herbs"; John Lawson mentions "2000 plants". The chief botanist was assisted by ten men and many boys and apprentices, one of whom, a Jew, used herbs to foretell the future. Special attractions for tourists were a tree under which it would be fatal to

spend the night and a "date tree with blossom on it, about 5 foot high", which Bowrey saw. An Utrecht student wrote about his visit to the garden:

I took particular notice of an aloes plant of a great height and in a glass frame. They told us it was the highest in Europe. I could not but take notice of the *Herba sensitiva*, which one cannot touch without its shrinking up its leaves, and a little after puts them out again as a snail does its horns.

In spite of the fact that the botanical garden in Amsterdam, at the end of the century, was bigger and contained more foreign plants, it never became as popular with tourists as the garden at Leiden.²⁰

Plants that could "not endure the cold winter climate of Holland" were kept in a heated gallery, which they shared with a large collection of "natural rarities", among which "the skins of several animals stuffed". Dr. John Northleigh had his doubts about the hippopotamus, one of the exhibits, was there "any determined species of it in Nature"? It looked

like an ordinary land ox but different in shape, being more round, though perhaps the stuffing might make that difference. It seemed to be also somewhat more clumsy in its make: his skin was dark brown, approaching to black, he has no horns, large teeth and a short tail.

The rest of the collection, catalogues of which cost 6 st., was kept in the "anatomy schools". After payment of a 3 st. entrance fee, tourists could admire "the anatomy and skeleton of any animal European, Asiatic, African or American". Sir Philip Skippon, who thought that the building was "not so handsome as that of London", carefully noted the names of the many curiosities that interested him. Northleigh also mentions a large number of items, to which he added his own medical reflections. There was e.g. the portrait of a Prussian peasant, from whose stomach one of the learned doctors had removed a seven-inch knife. He was said to have survived the operation by ten years, "if anyone will believe it". Another interesting exhibit was the paper money that had been used during the siege of 1574; there was also a relatively important Egyptian department.²¹

In the first half of the century especially, visitors were impressed by the anatomy theatre, situated in "a large chamber above stairs". It was "hardly to be paralleled in Christendom" wrote William Bagot (1629) and John Lawson (1659) noted: "though its theatre is not so pompous

as that of Padua, or Bologna in Italy, yet [it is] famous for its variety of skeletons of all sorts of creatures almost, as for its several antiquities, mummies etc." Thomas Penson tells how he was shown around:

So soon as we entered each person had a book given into his hand, printed in English, which contained an account of each particular thing, and the marks of the distinct places and presses wherein they stood or lay. Here I beheld the wonderful works of our great Creator composed and set together by the art of man. At my first approach I was struck with an awful admiration, almost questioning within myself whether I should dare to go in or no. For as in a wood we behold trees in great numbers stand confusedly together, so here appeared (as it were) an army of the bones of dead men, women and children, which seemed so to stare and grin at us, as if they would instantly make us such as themselves. And as if these were not terrible enough to fill up this frightful scene, there also appeared in the crowd the skeleton of the fierce lion, the horse, the cow

The exhibits in the anatomy theatre, a print of which is in the guide-book written by Christyn, did not only illustrate human and animal anatomy, they also taught moral lessons. On the skeleton of a cow was mounted that of a cattle thief, or as others said, someone "who had committed uncleanness with her". Food for thought was also provided by "the anatomy of a woman executed for murdering her bastard child, and the child anatomized in her arms". On the skeleton of a horse sat that of "a French nobleman, who ravished his sister and also murdered her". He had been beheaded in Paris and Dr. De Bils, who had dissected the body, had given the skeleton to the university of Leiden.²²

Private collections

Visitors with suitable credentials were also welcome to inspect the collections of private citizens. One traveller mentions four addresses in Amsterdam which he had come across in Patin, a popular guidebook. Mr. Vincents of this city had regular opening hours; his collection of flowers, herbs, birds, insects and shells, could be seen "only on Wednesday morning". Other collectors apparently received visitors whenever it suited them. Farrington was irritated that Dr. Bink(s) in Groningen made him wait "an unreasonable time", but the visit proved interesting enough. Apart from scientific instruments the collection included a one-month-old baby in wax, whose eyes rolled and who

“by the help of a certain spring [...] would cry as loud as a child of that age could be supposed to do”. In Delft, Anthony van Leeuwenhoek, the inventor of the microscope, was always willing to show his treasures to “strangers recommended to him as Curious”. He did not charge a fee. Through a microscope that magnified objects “one million times”, Sir Francis Child saw “the testicles and eggs of lice, the eggs of oysters and several other dissections of the most minute insects”. Joseph Shaw J.P. called when Leeuwenhoek was out and missed viewing the collection. Another interesting collection in this city (at a slightly earlier period) was that belonging to Jean van der Mere, an apothecary. It comprised a curious mixture of stuffed exotic animals (including fish), “the cup Prince William of Nassau last drank out of”, Indian dice, weapons from Brazil and a Roman medal. In 1686 Northleigh was disappointed to find that the objects had been “dispersed among his heirs”. Some collectors like Mr. La Faille at Delft or Mr. Berry at Amsterdam concentrated on medals; others on paintings, a fine cabinet of which Ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton saw in a country house near Lisse. In The Hague a gentleman looked at the paintings the British envoy, Lord Raby had just brought from Rome. One madonna was said to be by Guido Reni but the tourist took it to be a copy. John Farrington commented on the interior of the Odijk house, which was then let out to the British ambassador. In the hall were “4 crystal branches with candles” and also some paintings:

One of a Dutch maid, whom old Odijk debauched and who proved with child by him. She had 50 guineas given her to suffer herself to be drawn naked, which she is, only with a due regard had to modesty [...] And so great was the old lord's fancy for this woman [that] there is another picture of her which was drawn when younger.²³

The huge collection of Roman antiquities that had been found in and around Nijmegen was very special; its owner had even published a catalogue of it. The exiled Earl of Perth, who was annoyed at being stuck in Nijmegen, disliked the man and his anti-Stuart views and wrote to his sister:

One Smetius, a minister of this town, has a very large collection made by his father and by himself. It is a pity he should be such a blockhead as neither to know the value of what he possesses, nor to be able to give any satisfaction to strangers who see his rarities. He has a great collection

of modern medals too and some very dishonourable for Britain. I saw all and heard my master [i.e. James II] very scurvily used, for the man thought me of his own stamp; but his tongue will do no great hurt for he is a very stupid fellow.

At the end of the century Gillis van Vliet, a wealthy gentleman of Rotterdam, showed curious works of art he had made himself. With a penknife, all sorts of representations had been cut out in paper: buildings, sea-fights, storms and landscapes "as lively as if they had been done by the hand of the most skilful painter". He also made impressive imitations of lacework, "not to be distinguished by the eye from real". It "shows like needlework and exactly resembles point de Venise". Van Vliet did not ask an entrance fee nor was he willing to sell his works. Bowrey wrote: "The pieces are not above 2½ foot long and some of them valued at about 1000 guilders apiece." Similar work was made by Elizabeth Rijberg, who specialized in portraits. According to Ellis she had "done King William and Queen Mary better than any limner I ever saw".²⁴

Churches and visits to religious services

In every town the tourist visited the main churches, usually 14th-16th century Gothic buildings. John Skene noticed the organs, which they did not have in Scotland, while many others commented on the many memorial shields covering pillars and walls. Penson, the arms painter, inserted a sketch of one in his journal. Joseph Taylor ironically remarked: "One would judge most of the families in Holland [to be] noble by the baronets and supporters to their arms." Chiswell saw with approval that the rich citizens contented themselves with these escutcheons, but erected large monuments to the memory of their admirals, not only out of gratitude but also in order to hand "down to posterity their valiant actions". Much of the tourists' time was taken up in carefully reading and copying the inscriptions, making sure they got the punctuation right, an activity which earned Coryat the nickname of "tombstone traveller". In the Great Church at The Hague was the tomb of Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam, the admiral who had died during a sea-fight in 1665, at the beginning of the second Anglo-Dutch War, after "he had set fire to his own ship". "His most remarkable actions" represented in white marble, reminded Child of "Van de Velde's sea pieces in black frames". Joseph Taylor translated part of the grandiloquent inscription:

[...] fighting most valiantly, a few ships against the Royal Navy of England, and being every way surrounded that he might not then yield to his enemies, first a great slaughter being made and afterwards his own ship set on fire, with an Herculean example made his way to heaven through the flames in the 55th year of his age.

The memorial of William of Orange in the New Church at Delft was seen by far more tourists and according to one of them "one of the finest pieces of its kind that Europe affords". Yonge described this "monument of the old Prince of Orange, done in white marble. He lay on a mat of the same and the dog that died with him at his feet; over both a stately image of Fame done in massy brass, standing a-tiptoe, her wings spread and her left leg contracted. It was so geometrically poised that it stood on a square of not above two inches, and was movable". Farrington gave a full description and concluded: "You give no money to see it, only what you please to put into the poors' box."²⁵

In Amsterdam every tourist visited the New Church (St. Catherine's), adjacent to the Stadhuis and according to Reresby the finest church in town. Moryson did not comment on the interior but Brereton admired "four great pendant candlesticks of brass". Bargrave, who saw the new interior after the fire of 1645, mentions in particular two stained-glass windows and the richly carved pulpit with "the statues of the four Evangelists and divers other, all in perspective". This masterpiece of craftsmanship, which had cost a fabulous amount of money, is frequently referred to. The choir was fenced in with "a most glorious screen of burnished brass". Here De Ruyter's mausoleum, finished in 1681, occupied a conspicuous place, "where the high altar should be". Skippon copied the inscription on the tomb of Admiral Van Galen, who had been killed in an engagement against the English. Isham described both monuments in detail. Against the wall was one of the finest organs of the United Provinces, which could be made to sound like a choir of human voices and was played upon after the services and when there were important visitors. Public concerts were also given while listeners walked about in the church. Walker wrote: "About seven of the clock in the evening the organists repair to their respective churches and play all variety of tunes to divert and recreate the people." Fraser particularly mentions the New Church as being "occasionally on afternoons [...] the resort of all the gallants and strangers [...] for the admirable music".²⁶

A number of modern churches had especially been designed for Protestant worship, among them the New Church (1649-56) in The Hague, "built much after the form of the theatre in Oxon.", which according to William Mountague had "no pillars within, so that all the people may see as well as hear the minister". Other churches built in this form were the Oostkerk in Middelburg (1655-66), the Noorderkerk in Groningen (1660-64) and the Marekerk in Leiden (1639-49), which reminded James Fraser of the "French Protestant churches". In Amsterdam tourists paid little attention to the more traditional Westerkerk (1620-31) and Zuiderkerk (1611), but often commented on the two Lutheran churches. Brereton approved of the interior of the "Old Church" (1633), which had just been completed. "The pulpit placed in [the] middle of the great aisle and with greatest advantage for the hearers." The New Lutheran Church (1668-71) was circular and covered with a huge cupola made of plates of copper, "the gift of the King of Sweden". Many foreigners also went to see the two large synagogues for the German (1670) and Portuguese (1671-75) Jews; the latter was "the largest in Europe (if not in the world)".²⁷

It was not only an interest in architecture that drew tourists to the churches, they were also curious to see how the various religious communities celebrated divine service. Sir Edward Turnour, who arrived in Amsterdam on a Saturday morning, went straight to the synagogue. John Berry paid relatively much attention to it and looks well-informed but in general tourists did not understand much of what went on there; William Bagot's account is typical: "I saw the manner of the Jewish Sabbath, which is celebrated with a barbarous kind of singing and rude dancing; only they give much to the Law, which being rolled upon two curious staves, is carried round about the synagogue with much ceremony and afterwards spread upon a desk with great clamour and adoration."²⁸

On Sundays, the wide range of Christian churches provided interested travellers with a full programme, which usually began by attending an English service. The chapel at The Hague provided gentlemen with the opportunity to be edified by the preacher under the same roof as a member of the English royal family. Sir William Brereton saw the Queen of Bohemia and commented on the "honest, neat sermon". Robert Bargrave was all eyes for the fine ladies:

I had the princely view of the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal and the Queen of Bohemia's eldest daughter; also the forever honoured

Lady Lane (endeared to all good persons by her faithful service to the King in his escape) with many other persons of great quality; among whom the Lady Stanhope, whom I observed (not knowing who she was) to be the greatest beauty there, though then about 45 years of age.

A much less glamorous place of worship, where Brereton also felt quite at home, was the English Reformed church in the Begijnhof at Amsterdam, where he observed the way the sacrament was administered. Non-dissenting gentlemen had their reservations about the Presbyterians, whom they preferred to avoid at home. Evelyn was not impressed with their manner of christening and Mountague was bored stiff by the "long, dull tedious sermon", which lasted an hour and three quarters. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, an Episcopal church was opened "in a house up three pair of stairs", where according to Isham "one Doctor Cockburne [was] minister". Brereton brought his Sunday afternoon to a close in the Lutheran church, where he noticed the absence of images in the church windows and the ample quantity of water used in baptism.²⁹

When Thomas Story, an English Quaker on a visit to Amsterdam, looked around him at the meeting house, he was struck by the presence of a number of wealthy strangers, "some supposed to be young princes or nobles by their garb and retinue", who had certainly not come for their own devotions. Educated people could not very well omit visiting the places of worship of the numerous sects in this "Babel" of religions. Nicholas Ferrar was a diligent student. During his visits to the various sects he observed "their manners and teaching and [saw] if all were answerable to his own former reading, [...] he noted their errors and greatly confirmed himself in his own opinions". According to another tourist good singing could be heard at the Anabaptists' chapel. Mountague was unimpressed and thought his visits to the Armenians, the Brownists, the Anabaptists and the Quakers had only been a waste of time: "We were at all their conventicles and heard them mouth out their noise and nonsense, much against our humour, but when we were once in we thought it would be indecent to go out till all was over."³⁰

The fact that most tourists did not understand Dutch did not prevent some of them attending services in the Dutch Reformed Church. Northleigh commented on the clergyman's clothes and another traveller saw "a minister read the marriage ceremony" from a pulpit, uniting 17 couples "all at once". Ray was particularly observant. Among other things he described the way in which "the collec-

tions for the poor" were made in "sermon time". Another Briton noted how the deacons took long staves with "plush bags" at the end, which they presented to everybody. Even children and servants put something in. According to Yonge "a small bell hung at the bottom to alarm their charity". Ray also commented on the music: the organs always played for some time after the sermon and "the psalm to be sung is marked upon slates, which are hung up and down the churches". Neville particularly liked the singing of the congregation. "It is a curiosity to go and hear them, though few go, partly not knowing it." One gentleman says he attended a Catholic service in Utrecht, but few Protestant tourists were interested, partly because many of them had outspoken anti-Catholic views, but also since there was little to be admired in the architecture of their small chapels in private houses.³¹

More sights mainly at Amsterdam

As tourists generally spent more time in Amsterdam than elsewhere, they had ample opportunity to visit other public buildings that exemplified the riches of the city. The Exchange, the Admiralty buildings and those belonging to the East India Company were sights no conscientious visitor failed to inspect. The Exchange (1608) consisted of galleries of brick and stone built round a rectangular court. Isham shared the view of the majority of his countrymen, who thought the London exchange was more beautiful. Still the building in Amsterdam was

very handsome; it is vaulted and the river Amstel runs under it; on each side are galleries supported by pillars on which are written the name of each nation; over these galleries are others with shops but most of them shut up and at one end of them I was in a fencing school.

Visitors arriving after one o'clock had to pay an entrance fee of six stuivers, which stopped "curious people going in at the time of business".³²

The finest of the Admiralty buildings, the Zeemagazijn, which had been constructed in 1656 on the island of Kattenburg, could only be visited with special permission. Fitzwilliam was shown around by one of the Lords of the Admiralty and admired the tremendous stores. According to Carr there was even a woman whose job it was to look after the cats, which hunted mice and rats. Vernon was struck by the good order:

The sails here, the ropes there, balls in another place, everything in its order that it needs but open a door in every chamber to throw every ship's tackle into it.

A huge reservoir on the roof held rain water to be used in case of fire. States' men of war were laid up in the "Hok" nearby, "staked and boomed round and constantly guarded". The best ships however, belonged to the East India Company, which apart from their headquarters-cum-warehouse in the city centre, owned an impressive house on Oostenburg, another island in the IJ (1660). The warehouse here was "prodigious, sumptuous, magnificent", the location in the port grand and its dimensions vast. It was three storeys high and according to Shaw 2,000 feet long; the roperyard measured 1,800 feet. Mountague and his friends were "led into a room and gratified with the sight of abundance of ambergris, musk, tea and other rich drugs; and into another where were great quantities of cinnamon, mace, cloves and nutmegs", which were being sorted and prepared for sale.³³

During his visit to the port Fraser saw near the Arsenal "a most curious contrived thing", laid up "for a show". It was a little ship that could "sail against as well as with the wind, and under as well as above water". Its maker, Albert Sloe "set it once a going but it seems he died before the device was fully finished". At the end of the century several travellers mention Pampus, a shallow at the mouth of the river IJ, which could only be passed by heavy ships when carried between "camels", an invention of Pensionary Johan De Witt. Fitzwilliam, who had hired a yacht for his trip in the harbour, sailed close by a number of very fine ships "both for traffic and war and abundance of little pleasure boats". William Hammond wrote to his father:

Really Sir, it is no small pleasure to see a town thus situated in a bog and quag that produces nothing like timber, so surrounded with an unlimited wood of sea vessels, whose masts stand as thick as the trees of any grove.

A few travellers were more critical and questioned the superiority of Amsterdam over the port of London; the majority, however, were full of praise sometimes copying or adapting the appropriate phrases from their guidebooks. In one of them we come across the well-known metaphor borrowed by Hammond in his description of the shipping at Amsterdam, which looked like a wood: "The thick forest which

their masts and tackling make is hardly penetrable to the sunbeams".³⁴

At least one morning or afternoon was spent visiting the public institutions where the sick, the poor, orphans and old people were looked after. Donations could be put in the poor boxes at the entrance. The Dolhuis or Bedlam, where tourists were admitted for 2 stuivers, was "a fair building having abundance of lodgings made very strong and dark (having to each room a necessary house)". Although the inmates were "admirably provided for" Penson felt sorry for the patients whose behaviour afforded diversion to visitors less thoughtful than himself. Brereton wrote with admiration about an old people's home at Haarlem with 30 rooms for 60 persons. Shaw visited the new hospital (1681) for poor widows in Amsterdam (nicknamed the citadel of grunTERS) and saw a woman of 104 years old "brisk and healthy", keeping herself occupied with spinning. Ferrar went to see the orphanages in which "young children of both sexes [were] brought up to learn handicrafts" and gave handsome tips to the attendants. In the course of the century many new institutions were constructed, often very large ones, which did not fail to impress foreign tourists, although a Londoner in 1695 noted that none of the hospitals were "so stately as our Bedlam and Christ's Hospital". Northleigh (1686) however, wrote: "Their hospitals and other houses dedicated for the maintenance of the poor are more like palaces than hospitals", and Marmaduke Rawdon (1662) commented: "Nay, the very Bedlam [...] is so stately that one would take it to be the house of some lord." In these houses as many people as possible were kept to work, for, as Walker remarked: "They think nothing more pernicious to the government than to suffer the meaner sort of people to live in idleness." In Amsterdam "lodging and diet [were provided] to above 20,000 poor", making the city "one continual almshouse".³⁵

The city's policy of keeping beggars from the streets was not one hundred percent successful. The Irishman Thomas Molyneux wrote to his brother: "Though it be generally reported that there are no beggars in Holland, yet I can assure you that it is most certainly false; for I have seen them at Amsterdam, Leiden, and elsewhere, and that also very frequently; yet I must needs say, they are not so common as in London or Dublin." In Amsterdam beggars and prostitutes were occasionally rounded up and sent to workhouses; men to the Rasp-house, women to the Spinhouse. These were also the places where criminals were confined and compelled to work. Thomas Denne

wrote: "The greatest offenders are made to rasp Brazil wood with a saw of six or eight double teeth, two to a saw; here are likewise divers looms where smaller offenders are forced to weave." A guidebook told English tourists: "Every year in August it is free for all people to go in and see [their] miserable condition." Edward Browne watched the men at work, "naked and in a sweat and the dust of the Brazil wood flying upon them, they were all overpainted of a beautiful red colour". Grey Neville in a more serious mood reflected:

We saw the Rasphouse, where malefactors are condemned for several years to rasp every day so many pounds, and overplus they have a doit a pound. Some are condemned for their lifetime which is worse than to be broken upon the wheel alive.

If convicts did not work properly they were "corrected with exquisite punishments, chiefly one, when they pump up to the neck in water, so that if they desist or slacken their labour, the water drowns them". Isham was shown the dungeon where this was supposed to happen but nobody ever saw the punishment being carried out.³⁶

The Spinhuis or prison for women, was also among the popular tourist attractions. Here again Bowrey was admitted after payment of two stuivers. Peter Mundy found that the women were far better off than the men, "for they sit like so many at school, very civilly and quietly at their needle [...] many of them better in than out". He probably did not see all the rooms, since the women were divided into several classes, "the common whores in one part, those of the better sort in another, and in a third division are disorderly women that are kept more private, being put in by their parents". This is how Mountague described his visit to the Spinhuis at The Hague:

To divert ourselves we went to see their spinhouses, or Bridewell, where old women are confined for drunkenness and young ones for whoredom; here is not an idle body in this place, some spinning, others making lace, others plain work; they come to the bars and hold out a plate to beg our charity and there entertain us with some liquorish discourse.

Farrington saw "little sign of reformation and amendment" and wondered why they should be locked up at all, Bargrave reacted philosophically when he noticed some beautiful women among them, but Shaw, a justice of the peace, seems to have thought that they only got what they deserved: "I saw 117 women in whom Nature had over-

come Education, clothed in all the gay habillements of love; adorned with plumes of feathers on their heads, patched and painted [...] Thus were they exposed to the view and gibes of the scoffing and deriding crowd who spared them not."³⁷

LEISURE TIME

Taverns and coffee houses

After these educational visits, notebooks were put away and tourists had lunch with countrymen or other acquaintances. In the taverns and coffee houses the Dutch talked freely about all sorts of subjects while drinking "milk-coffee with nutmeg" or "coffee with liquorice infused". At Roselli's, the fashionable "coffee house on the Plein" in The Hague, Sir Justinian Isham, returning home after a stay in Germany, saw Count Dohna playing at billiards. At a tavern in Rotterdam, where "in De Witt's time" the Arminian party used to meet, Joseph Taylor was served a Barneveldt, "a deep glass either of bitter sack or Rhenish", which cost him two stuivers. Customers played at cards, dice, billiards or a game with cowries "or blackamoor's teeth as the children call them". Sir Philip Skippon was surprised to see that, "the inns and public houses of entertainment [have] bells at their doors which ring as anyone goes in or out".³⁸

Some taverns boasted special attractions: the "Doolhofs" were popular with "the common people" who liked the mazes in their gardens, others had exotic birds, waxworks or "ingenious machines" operated by water or clockwork. In Amsterdam Isham was "in a public house at the sign of the Ostrich, where in the garden [he saw] a great cage full of several sorts of birds". A very rare specimen "called the King of Birds" was kept in the house itself; it was possibly the bird from Carthagera in America, described by William Oliver, a correspondent of the Royal Society, who paid "a groat" to see it. In another tavern Brereton watched a show in which "the Pope going in procession, [was] carried by his bishops, attended by cardinals, princes, abbots, monks, friars and the devil following after them", whose roars were mingled with the sounds of "mass sung". A particularly well-known establishment was the Mennisten Bruiloft, belonging to a former professor of Arabic at the university of Leiden. It was "a pretty fantastic thing", where on the sixth floor waterworks were shown. Here was also "an instrument of china dishes, to be played as on

virginals". Brereton, who had ordered drinks, thought it a shame he had to pay 36 stuivers for "three glasses of their muddy stuff [with] a dish of almonds and raisins". In a warehouse on one of the canals was the Great Tun, the first curiosity Thomas Penson went to see after his arrival in Amsterdam:

We crept in at the tap hole and being entered found a table and benches ready placed; we sat and drank a can of wine and everyone made their mark or set an impression of their seals, of which there were many thousands.

The young diplomat James Vernon went to a tavern where, when the rope was pulled, there was not the sound of a bell but the cry of some bird. The host was an ingenious fellow who could

break glasses with his breath, which he did several Rhenish wine glasses, though held by another [...] He would make them ring, tremble and break; what was particular, sounding to one glass he said he found it was unequally made, and then crying to it, only one piece of it flew out, whereas those that were more equal flew into shivers.³⁹

Purchases

Sooner or later tourists found themselves in shops or on markets making purchases. At Delft Farrington noticed tame storks walking about at the fish market: it was strictly forbidden to do them harm "and the creatures by their insolent stealing of fish whenever they have the least opportunity, seem[ed] sensible of it". Among the many markets in Amsterdam there was one for flowers, "and another for tobacco pipes". Fraser wrote:

Upon Wednesdays every week they have their rag market in which all vendible things are set to sale near the Exchange. Men that are in debt or die or leave the city have here their household furnishings roped, at a very easy rate; all manner of clothes, cabinets, beds, tables to the least tongues or fire shovel is here sold. They have also their dog market of all sorts and sizes to be sold, Spanish dwarfs [...] truly of wonderful varieties.

Mountague discovered only "about 20 curs in it, and those very ugly". However, female demand was such that "these hairy companions [fetched] good round prices". Henry Grey, whose sister had asked him to buy a puppy for her, found it a time-consuming business; several

months passed before he sent over a young dog "now nine months old by the testimony of all the little dogs in the parish", which he hoped would not grow too big. In The Hague Pepys went to a place where miniature grottoes were for sale and Skippon looked around with interest in Van der Mulen's shop in Rotterdam. Here all sorts of curiosities were on display, among them Brazilian spiders' teeth and several species of monkeys, one of which was "very loving [and] smelled of musk". Good pistols were for sale at Utrecht. Tourists who needed presents had a wide choice. John Locke paid two stuivers for "a wooden sword for Arent", the son of his landlord Benjamin Furly and Sir James Hope spent about £25 on silver spoons, gloves and ribbons for the wife and children of his host, a business associate, in Middelburg. The sable muff he intended to offer his wife remained with the shopkeeper, who was not willing to part with it for less than the full price.⁴⁰

A large number of tourists were interested in prints and books, which were more easily available and cheaper in Holland than elsewhere. Professor Robert Wodrow, librarian of the university of Glasgow, always asked his students to buy books for him in shops or at auctions. Shaw spent all his "spare time [...] in rummaging Mr. Wetsteines and Mr. Westbergues, booksellers' shops" in Amsterdam as he had "already done those of Mr. Vandewater's at Utrecht and Mr. Leer's at Rotterdam and Mr. Luchtman's at Leiden, in order to complete a set of civil law books". Travellers interested in maps, went to the famous cartographers Hondius and Janssonius in Amsterdam. Several tourists bought English bibles, which were cheap because the Dutch printers pirated the original English editions. Hope bought six for 25 stuivers each, and had them bound for 40 st. apiece. Nicolson, who visited the Widow Schippers' establishment in 1678, saw a bible that had just come from the presses; its title page read "London [...] A.D. 1669". Another gentleman saw the "printing room of Athias, who can print an English bible at 24 hours warning". Lord George Douglas, a student of law at Utrecht was often taken by his governor to bookshops and auctions: "His chief divertisement is to go through the bookseller shops that I may show him the best editions of the Roman authors and of the writers of the Roman Antiquities and of the best lawyers and that he may learn their prices". After a stay of eleven months he sent home books to the value of *f*538:3, taking care to tell the customs they were *f*200, this in connection with the five per cent customs duties. One travelling bibliophile bought books in

every town he visited; his purchases in Amsterdam alone amounted to 42 guilders; among them were *Amours des Dames* and the bestseller of that year (1686), Burnet's *Travels*.⁴¹

While the Duke of Shrewsbury was looking for books, his wife was at the East India shop, where John Evelyn had bought shells and Indian curiosities. Very special furniture was on show in a shop called Het Pand, each article with its price tag. Bargrave saw "tables, desks, cabinets etc. of ebony, walnut tree, Brazil wood and the like". Vernon's attention was drawn by a "table of marble inlaid with mother of pearl", worth £6,000, on which the craftsman had been at work for 30 years. This was just as much beyond his means as the huge globe (6 feet in diameter) priced at £1,500. An unusual article was offered for sale to Charles Ellis: Siamese twins preserved in spirits. As a scientist Ellis felt tempted, but the 300 guilders the father asked for them was "too much for a traveller to expend upon one thing". Edward Barlow only bought a number of "small commodities", which he planned to sell at a profit on his arrival in England, since he had not exactly made a fortune with the ten guilders a month he earned as a sailor on an East India ship. Several more well-to-do travellers made large purchases of high quality articles which were cheaper in Holland than at home. Alexander Forrester had been asked to buy six dozen shirts and lace but when he realized what he had let himself in for, he wrote to his correspondent: "I know not in the world how it could be got over to England unless I were going myself." The bill amounted to 1,520 guilders, "about a hundred and fifty pound sterling". The Earl of Dorset bought Delftware "coffee dishes, saucers and a teapot" with some linen to the value of f600. Monsieur de Blainville spent more than f100 on fine linen, muslin and batiste, which probably went to make shirts for his pupils, Secretary Blathwayt's sons. Young Lionel Boyle, third Earl of Orrery paid f120 for "two lace cravats and one of point d'Espagne, with the cuffs". Sir William Brereton arrived with an impressive shopping list. Apart from the paintings (ten of them had cost f64) which filled several big chests, there were seven baskets full of coloured tiles for the chimneys in his house, tulips (f5 the hundred) and even a little dog to help him catch wild ducks in his decoy. For all this he paid f250, which at that time constituted three months' salary of a captain in the army. The Hull skipper agreed to carry the goods with two servants to England for £1:10.⁴²

Evelyn bought some pictures at the fair (kermis) in Rotterdam. In booths and sometimes even in old churches all sorts of merchandise

were for sale: knick-knacks, gingerbread, linen and articles of clothing, balsams and pills. The artist Sir James Thornhill wrote about the Delft fair:

There was variety of brassware and iron, copper etc. in one row of booths or shambles; in another toys, linen, lace, caps etc. Great quantity of glasses in the outer parts of the fair [...] Mr. Roberts bought a pair of large ground tumblers, cost 3s 6d English money and I bought one which cost 1s 9d.⁴³

Entertainment

Tourists travelling in summer usually came across a fair in at least one of the towns on their itinerary. One of the most important shows of the “kermis” at Dordrecht was located in the street where Isham had his lodgings; Leake saw a “kermis” in Haarlem (end June), Utrecht (July) and Alkmaar (end August). These fairs did not only enable the citizens to buy all sorts of articles more cheaply than at the local shops, they also provided entertainment. The public, in a holiday mood, gladly paid to see exotic animals like lions, leopards and occasionally an elephant or a pelican. Zoological and human “rarities” were popular too, Evelyn mentions seeing a cock with four legs and several travellers refer to the Boor of Lekkerkerk, a man more than seven foot tall who was fond of kissing women. There were puppet shows, ballets, concerts and plays. One traveller saw a two-year-old rope dancer and Farrington was much impressed by a show at Leeuwarden, with a representation of the sea with monsters, a mermaid, a whale and two ships fighting. Even without spending any money, it could be fun to watch the natives. At Alkmaar, Leake and his pupil “diverted [themselves] with observing the humour of the bores and borennekies”. Brereton had the impression they even contracted marriages when drunk.⁴⁴

On the Mall in Utrecht, Leake saw a Dutch comedy which he quite liked although he did not understand the language. A Leiden student who watched a play at the “kermis” in nearby Voorschoten was not impressed:

Here I saw a Dutch kermis or fair and the story of Tamerlane and Bajazet acted upon an open scaffold; but I was almost sick at the sight of it. This tragedy or rather farce as they acted it, was written in verse which they repeated in so chiming a tone that had I not seen them, I should have supposed them to have been a company of little children

learning A.B.C.. When that fine play was ended they diverted us with a droll, pleasant enough in their way, but not too much wit; but indeed I must say the Dutch must not pretend to a good air in pronunciation or graceful carriage, nor are they much better at it in their playhouses at The Hague or Amsterdam.

In the beginning of the century, we sometimes meet with Puritan protests against the theatre, but for most tourists it constituted an essential feature of social life. Since the only professional company of actors was shared between Amsterdam and The Hague, there were usually not more than two performances a week in either of the towns, where many tourists must have spent the early hours of the evening watching a play. In Amsterdam Skippon saw

a tragedy called Tamerlane, well acted in a convenient playhouse; in the cockpit the ordinary people stand for four pence apiece; places in the boxes are ten pence a place. The actors' clothes were very rich, and habited like the nations they represented, the commanders of armies were on real horses. Between every act the music played, and after all the tragedy was ended, began a farce or ridiculous actings and jestings.⁴⁵

Several tourists mention with approval that the profits of the theatre helped to support the poor with considerable sums; according to Northleigh as much as £80,000 a year. However, the quality of the performances was an entirely different matter. Throughout the century, English visitors had their reservations about the actors, and not being able to understand the language, they were probably bored to death watching the "curious Dutch plays". Only the farce at the end of the programme afforded some consolation for a spoiled evening. Grey wrote to his sister: "I have been at a Dutch play though I understood nothing of it, yet I could find they came far short of those in London." Penson thought too much time was lost changing the scenes, Joseph Addison made jokes about the tradesmen who earned an extra guilder a night impersonating kings and generals, and Shaw felt he had wasted his evening in the fine theatre. The acting had been miserable and the "dog and cat market, seriously kept every week [was] a more comical scene than any in their comedy". French plays and operas were not much appreciated either. Isham saw three operas at The Hague and his only comment was: "The house is long and very indifferent as are also the cloths and singers." Child, who sometimes went to "the French playhouse", states in plain language what it

was that attracted him and other fashionable people to the theatre: it "was good for nothing but to draw the company of the town together".⁴⁶

Around six o'clock the beau monde of The Hague could be seen making "the tour à la mode" in their "best coaches and equipages" along the Vijverberg and the Voorhout, a street "like the mall in St. James' Park". Henry Grey counted 150 coaches, but when the king was at The Hague in 1695 a Londoner thought there were between four and five hundred; less well-to-do people walked about under the trees until ten or eleven o'clock in summer. Tourists with the right contacts were welcome at balls or "assemblies" in private houses, "where all the gay young sparks and ladies meet to pass away the evening". The banker Sir Francis Child wrote:

Some play at basset, ombre, picket; others talk of the intrigues of the town, but most are taken up with carrying on their own. Any man well clothed is easily admitted especially if he has 50 ducats in his pockets, which he must have good luck to bring away with him, for here are many of the fair sex who keep a neat table and handsome equipages by what they win from strangers who must play, or not keep them company.

These activities were frequent in The Hague, where according to Mountague more wine was consumed than in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Dordt put together, but although it was the only town in Holland where people of fashion could feel at home, local entertainment at times sadly differed from what people were used to in London. The diplomat Henry Sidney complained bitterly about the lack of company, which was "something dismal". Still the Odijk family (related to the Prince of Orange) did their best for British visitors, as did the Lord Villiers, a British envoy in the 1690s, whose wife was the life and soul of the parties. Edward Southwell, travelling in the company of the experienced politician William Blathwayt, paid tribute to their hospitality: "She reconciles the place to many of our English, who have not time or inclination to enter into much familiarity or acquaintance with the people."⁴⁷

In Amsterdam few tourists neglected investigating the night-life on the waterfront. In the "music houses", "the tarpaulins' Whetstone's Park", fiddling and gaming went on till early in the morning. According to Bowrey there were "about 17 of them, [each with] 10 or 12 whores [...] ready for any man who desires to accompany them". John

Walker says that "3 or 4 stivers [was] a common price for a doxy". Another traveller wrote: "Curious spectators must make a show as if they had a mind to drink a glass of wine when it is offered and give some gratuity to him or her who presents it." Walter Harris, who had been a doctor in the army, insisted that no "scandalous obscenities" were permitted here but Dr. John Northleigh was scandalized to find that in a Protestant country these houses, where "lewd persons of both sexes [could] practise their villainies" were so openly tolerated. In this respect Amsterdam exceeded "all whatever I saw of this kind in all my travels, not excepting even Rome itself". The owners of these establishments paid considerable sums in tax to the local government and that was why

they never punish[ed] any for this vice, unless they be so base as to pick their cully's pockets. Then they whip them at the Spinhuis. And if you ask a statesman the reason of this, he will tell you that people that incline to be so vicious will be privately so, and that the State had as good get money by it as not.

According to Carr there were at least 50 of them, necessary to prevent worse things, for "when the East India fleets come home, the seamen are so mad for women, that if they had not such houses to bait in, they would force the very citizens' wives and daughters".⁴⁸

The best known of these houses, the Long Cellar, was mentioned by Carr and Mountague in their travel guides. The latter thought it was only a "nasty common bawdy house", where the wine like the women was "good for nothing". At the Hof van Holland the ladies "were handsomer and better dressed, [but] we had nothing more to say to them than a little merry tattle, so we paid and moved off". Penson, who did not belong to the moneyed classes, wanted his readers to believe he felt perfectly at ease in the Long Cellar, where "the women were generally very loving to Englishmen". After drinking a glass of cheap wine with two ladies, he accompanied the best looking to her lodgings,

where so soon as I came in, her maid filled a large rummer of wine and set by me on the table. We tippled that off and was merry and another was filled. Nor could I ask anything of her that she did not freely impart to me. And urged me to stay all night, which I as decently refused as I could, with a promise to come to her on the morrow, which visit I ever after omitted.

When Isham was in Amsterdam in 1704, the Long Cellar no longer existed but tourists still visited smaller music houses on the Zeedijk. Isham relates what happened to the unfortunate Dr. Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain. "Being led there out of curiosity [he] was no sooner entered but they taking notice of his gravity, thrust their hands into his breeches, which frightened the poor man almost out of his senses." In the smaller towns the evenings must have been a lot quieter for tourists. They probably went for a walk as long as it was light, or had a glass of wine in a tavern, as Pepys did. Others like Fraser, stayed at their inn talking or playing cards with friends or the host. After supper many tourists must have been occupied writing their letters and bringing their journals up to date, after which they went to bed early to recuperate after a long day of sightseeing.⁴⁹

TOURING THE COUNTRYSIDE

General impressions

Comments on the countryside are usually among the first few entries in a travel journal dealing with Holland, or occur in the general observations. Yonge, who arrived by ship via the Zuiderzee, "pleasantly beheld all this low country, hedged in with dikes, which kept the water higher than the land". In winter it was often impossible to see which was water and which was land, "both being covered with ice and looking alike. For when the pumps [...] are choked by the ice, all the rain water soaking through the sluices and dikes, covers the land and freezes". According to Veryard it also happened that during the winter the water was forced over the dikes by the "violence of high winds". However, in spring the fields were "drained again [...] by an infinity of windmills, which are built in all parts and kept in constant repair, purposely to throw back the water into the rivers, lakes and channels of the country". Veryard's conclusion was: "It is evident that art has nowhere supplied and corrected the defects of nature in a greater measure than in this small state." Simon Clement was surprised to find that the flat, low-lying country was kept so dry by the mills, "a management very worthy our consideration in the fenny country in England". A disadvantage was its lack of variety – "in one place [the country had] the same aspect and resemblance to that in another, as an egg is like to an egg" – and it did not lend itself well to short excursions on foot. In the surroundings of Amsterdam

the water everywhere forced pedestrians to keep to the roads. "The air [was] thick, foul and unwholesome", and the only way of remaining in good health was to take "a good dose of hock" daily.⁵⁰

There was more variety in the sandy regions along the coast, where good walking was possible particularly in the wood-like parks just outside Haarlem and The Hague. The cities were proud of these parks, which were mentioned in travel guides. According to Carr many people from Amsterdam "came to take their pleasure" in the Haarlemmerhout on Sundays. Shaw, returning to The Hague one evening after a day in the country, saw "the enchanting wood and mall" just before sunset. The "dying beams faintly peeping through the shady trees, gave but light enough to see all its beauties, and [...] the wanton playing wind gently breathed its sweets". There was even more scope for pedestrians in the surroundings of Utrecht, where the "orchards, gardens and cornfields" were far more enjoyable than the monotonous fields of Holland. Erskine and Isham often went for a stroll outside the city, where Mountague "almost fancied [himself] in England". William Nicolson wrote about his journey from Utrecht to Nijmegen: "This day we passed through a country much like our Herefordshire, abounding with apples, pears, walnuts and other sorts of fruit." Here and there hills offered fine views. From the Belvédère, a tower on a hill in Nijmegen, "the rich country of the Betuwe [looked] like a garden" and on a clear day it was possible to see as far as Utrecht. A Leiden student really enjoyed his walk from Deventer to Zwolle, "all the way on a high dike", and admired the countryside. Tourists who visited Maastricht, the southernmost city belonging to the States, always commented on the high hill nearby. Skippon appreciated "the very pleasant prospect", whereas Northleigh described the quarry underneath, where freestone was hewn out "in such a manner that columns of stone [were] left in a regular order", suggesting "a subterraneous palace".⁵¹

Numerous travellers discuss the safety measures the Dutch had taken to keep their country out of "the jaws of Neptune". In Zeeland especially the inhabitants waged a continuous battle against the elements. An old guidebook stated: "They have made good and high banks, strengthened with thick turfs and wads of straw, which bind them firmly together, the which they call dikes." In several places lakes had been surrounded by these dikes, and subsequently drained by windmills. One of these stretches of reclaimed land, the Diemermeer (1630) near Amsterdam, is described as "fine pasture ground and beautified

with gentlemen's seats". The Beemster (1612) in North-Holland had been transformed into "the best soil in Holland". It was "divided into many parcels by canals and planted with many curious rows of limes". Fitzwilliam mentioned the "brave country houses" and the fact that some of the farmers there were worth as much as 100,000 guilders. A student on tour sketched a cross-section of the "very high and broad dijk" between Muiden and Muiderberg, but the dike between Amsterdam and Haarlem, which divided "the salt and the sweet sea", is mentioned more frequently. Midway between these towns, the water from the Haarlemmermeer was let out into the IJ at low tide through huge sluices. Once this dike had burst in a storm and "four hundred small vessels, filled with earth and stones [had been sunk] for a foundation to rebuild the wall upon". Even more impressive were the dikes at Medemblik in North-Holland, which were mentioned as a sight by guidebooks. Travellers dutifully noticed that the water was "much higher than the land and the banks only of earth mixed with straw". In several places stakes had been driven into the sea to break its force. Looking down from the high banks between Medemblik and Enkhuizen, while the post waggon was almost blown into the water, Shaw commented: "under these dikes, most part of the way, are built hundreds of cottages inhabited by poor boors, who in case of the least break of that outrageous element would be swallowed up at once." Fraser copied a Latin poem on the dikes and translated it as follows:

Gods made their land, the Hollanders their shore;
That was a mighty work, but this was more.
Gods in their work no obstacle did find;
Gainst Hollanders both Sea and Land combined;
And Nature too. In this then lay the odds,
They made their dikes, in spite of all the Gods.⁵²

Industry and farming

Only a limited number of people touring the countryside commented on manufacturing industry. William Mure noticed how bricks were made and Edward Browne described the large sheds in which "tiles" were dried. However, he may have thought it too commonplace a matter for inclusion in his book. Mountague, who did not write for a scholarly public, mentioned the huge number of mills outside the city gates of Amsterdam. They were "all in motion, some water, some wind, some thatch, some wood, (few brick) to grind colours for the pothouses, corn for this city, sawing timber, draining

marshgrounds etc.". Brereton, Hope and Skippon paid much attention to industrial activities outside the cities and made sketches of the machinery of the mills. Moryson saw a mill which produced oil out of linseed and walnut shells and in a windmill, four storeys high, "16 saws at least" were able to cut a twenty-yard piece of timber into planks in an hour. Hope, who employed many people himself, was impressed to see that only one man and a horse were needed to operate an oil mill and he gave a very detailed description of a loom on which twenty sorts of ribbon were produced at a time. Skippon commented on the forges near Dordt, where anvils and anchors were made. Ferrar is among those who mention the shipbuilding industry at Zaandam, where he "noted the different way of building from ours in the structure of their warships; [the British ones] were stronger made, but theirs formed with more advantage for speedy sailing". According to another traveller there were almost a hundred merchant ships "on the stocks" and although it was said that the vessels were "badly built" and the Dutch drove everyone else out of business in this field, a number of tourists were really impressed and referred to Czar Peter's stay in this village.⁵³

Agriculture was not among the main concerns of travellers either, who in the east of the country probably saw farming practices closely resembling those in certain parts of Britain. The tobacco fields near Amersfoort, however, were something special. A Leiden student described how the leaves were collected, and made a sketch showing how the plants grew on high beds, separated by large furrows filled with manure. Southwell was afraid that the Dutch, who "every year plant[ed] more and more of this weed", might also in this commodity become serious competitors "of our American plantations". Fraser, who had spent the night at a farmhouse, saw how the stalks were fed to the cattle. Remarks about country life in the province of Holland are more frequent. Brereton, who had a decoy at home, visited as many of these places as he could. He also went to see a dairy farm and took notes on the structure of the buildings. He was particularly interested in the way the milk of the 30 cows was kept cool. Locke emphasized the neatness of the farmhouses where animals and people lived under the same roof in winter. According to Yonge the cows had "their tails kept up by a string, and a small weight through a pulley, so that they cannot foul themselves or flirt about their dung". Fraser travelling from Amsterdam to Haarlem on the first day of autumn, gave an idyllic picture of the "goodly milk kine [in the fields

and] the Dutch milkmaids milking and singing, [carrying home] the large milk pails on their heads".⁵⁴

The surroundings of Haarlem were well-known for the bleaching fields, covering "many thousands of acres". Even from abroad, linen was sent here and the expertise of the workers was widely recognized. Mountague wrote in a light-hearted mood: "The French court, some years since, sent for some of the chief laundresses and were mightily pleased with their skill and neatness; rewarded them well and sent them back big-bellied." A more messy job was the making of peat. This is Leake's description:

We had the satisfaction of passing through that part of Holland where the Dutch dig most of their turf. It is for the most part so watery and morassy that there is scarce a list of Terra Firma left for a chaise to run upon. They fish up in nets the slime and soil which lies on the bottom of these bogs and then spread it about a foot thick upon a little neck of land, which every turf digger's cottage is furnished withal, and there they let it lie till it begins to harden by the weather, and then they cut it out with an iron instrument into the shape and size of large bricks; and after letting them continue in that state some time, they pile them up hollow, in the form of our brick kilns, where after having remained a year, they become saleable and serviceable.

This fuel burned without smoke and had a typical but not unpleasant smell, so that people travelling at night always knew when they were approaching a town.⁵⁵

Country houses and their gardens

For the great majority of travellers an excursion into the countryside meant visiting country houses. Endegeest, where Descartes had lived, was one of the houses described by a John Talman, who regularly made trips in the surroundings of Leiden. He generally liked the places he saw. Most other tourists, possibly more sophisticated, were disappointed after a visit to the relatively small gentleman's houses, which looked so pretty from the road or the trekschuit but which on closer inspection appeared to have been built of the wrong material or in the wrong places and whose interiors did not live up to expectations. Fitzwilliam was astonished to find that the owner of a house near Haarlem had, "like a foolish man [...] built a house upon the sands [...]" It lies between sandhills, the least wind can do a great deal of hurt in driving the sand into the garden or upon the building. He is about

taking away the sandhills but that will hardly do any good; 30,000 lib. sterling are as good as thrown away". However, disappointment turned into appreciation when tourists went for a walk in the adjoining parks. Brereton gave a careful description of the layout of a garden at Alphen, which not only contained orchards and fishponds but also "most curious hedges" of twelve different sorts of shrub.⁵⁶

The gardens of Zorgvliet, designed by Lord Bentinck (Portland), who had bought the property in 1674 from the heirs of its former owner, the statesman and poet Jacob Cats, lay just off the famous road to Scheveningen, only half an hour distant from the centre of The Hague. Sir Francis Child wrote that they "were prodigious large, without two things alike in them all, and ought to be seen by everyone who comes to The Hague". Justinian Isham appreciated the lack of formality, "consisting [...] in a kind of wilderness with walks of trees and several little parterres". The absence of decent paths was a drawback: "good gravel walks could scarcely be made without a great deal of trouble". John Leake complained: "the hotness and looseness of their sand is very unpleasant to the eyes and feet"; Child sank away up to his ankles in a place where moles had burrowed under the path. Young Viscount Woodstock reported on the aviary with newly arrived pheasants and Joseph Taylor thought the park pleasant enough to spend an afternoon in:

There is a pretty avenue through a wood to a very little summer house, before which is an orangery in a semicircle of almost 300 oranges and lemons, adorned with eight fine urns on pedestals. In one of the gardens are two fine figures of Mercury and Susanna and a pretty grotto with waterworks, abundance of shady walks and several trees but in different shapes. The infirmary to raise trees, the mew for hawks, the fishpond filled with several sort of ducks and the grotto made of shells are all worth seeing.

Chiswell also enjoyed himself in the garden but the house itself was hardly worth mentioning.⁵⁷

Comments on the stately homes (often renovated castles) in the provinces of Utrecht and Gelderland are essentially the same, tourists were mainly interested in the gardens. Middachten (1697) and De Voorst (1695-97), with excellent furniture and fine gardens, belonged to two of William's favourites, Godart van Reede van Ginckel (Lord Athlone) and Arnold Joost van Keppel (Lord Albemarle) respectively. The latter was clearly not very popular with the local population, for

upon William's death "the mob [...] took occasion to cut all the pipes" and at the time of Compton's visit (1707) the waterworks were still out of order. The gardens at Rosendaal near Arnhem, also modernized by the end of the century, are not often mentioned; far more frequently visited were a number of houses within easy reach of Utrecht. The house and gardens at Vianen were thought pleasant but Heemstede, a magnificent country house near Houten (1645), attracted many tourists in the 1690s. A student gave the following description:

The house stands surrounded on all sides with wood, in which are delightful walks and avenues, ponds and a small park with some deer. The house itself is moated round; the gardens are not great but very pleasant, having abundance of fine greens and several very pretty waterworks and wetting places; at the farther end of the garden is a pretty large basin and deep and well kept.

The stately home at Zeist (1677-86) belonged to the Odijk family and was, according to Montague Drake "for a private person one of the best I saw in the country". He particularly liked "the wilderness" in front of the house. Another tourist preferred the formal gardens "without the moat", and their "very fine avenues and parterres with curious greens and several very good statues and urns".⁵⁸

In the last decade of the century many travellers went to see King William's hunting lodges at Soestdijk and Dieren. The house at Dieren (1648; renovated c.1680) was old and small, and John Farrington, who had been a merchant at Smyrna, thought the King's apartment "but ordinary for a Prince", possibly because after William's death some of the furniture had been taken away by "the Prince of Friesland", one of his principal heirs. According to Shaw "its greatest beauties [were] its avenues and what they call the berceau". This is Southwell's account of the garden:

I saw nowhere gravel walks but here. The bowling green, harbour of Venus round a great pond, the grotto and Cupid drowning in a fountain are all very entertaining. There are also several pretty inventions for wetting gentlemen and ladies. The river IJssel runs close by the garden and so to Doesburg which is 2 miles off and gives you a good prospect.

Soestdijk (1674), where 500 deer were kept in the park, looked fine from the outside but inside only the paintings (with hunting scenes) were of interest, "no such thing as a stone chimney piece in all the house".⁵⁹

Visitors were less critical of the houses the Prince of Orange owned in the surroundings of The Hague, although here again much of the time was spent in the gardens. James Fraser was probably taken to those belonging to the House in the Wood (Huis Ten Bosch, 1645-52, renovated 1686), and remarked that nowhere else in the Low Countries had he seen a garden with such fine statues, fountains and arbours. Samuel Pepys says he impressed his friends here with a flute solo, which he played in a vault with a fine echo under the house. The house itself was a small building "fit only for banqueting or a supper in the cool of a summer's evening or indeed a retreat with a mistress". Nicolson gave the following description: "At your entrance into the house you have four statues in white marble of the four following princes [...] In the middle you have a princely banqueting room floored with cedar and hung from the top to the bottom with curious draughts of Prince Henry's exploits." Farrington, who thought it a shame that the fine floor had been ruined during a three-day drinking bout after the peace of 1697, was full of admiration for one of the paintings:

The most celebrated piece is that of Vulcan's working at a forge. As a man can never be tired with viewing it, so it is as hard to give you a description of it that can come anything near to the Life. There is everything there but life, and it is a hard matter to persuade oneself that is not there also. All the muscles of the body are extremely natural and the posture is inimitably fine. He is represented with his harness lifted up and one would every moment expect that he should strike. And there appears so much vigour and strength in the brawny blacksmith as was necessary in one that is supposed to forge thunderbolts for his father Jupiter.

Another of the Prince's houses was at Rijswijk (1630), where in 1697 the peace was signed. Sir William Brereton (1634) commented on the stables with room for 60 horses, and paid special attention to the interior decoration of the then brand-new house. He particularly liked the chimneys in the various rooms. The floors below were paved with marble, upstairs walnut planks had been used and the walls were covered with gilt hangings; the ceilings were richly painted. John Evelyn (1641) admired an expensive collection of modern paintings. Fifty years after his visit, the palace was no longer regularly inhabited, most of the paintings and furniture had been removed and the garden looked neglected. The main curiosity consisted in the "three ways of

entrance into the courtyard", which in 1697 had solved disputes about precedence. On one of them Thornhill saw a notice: "Hier leggen voetangels, in English: Here lie traps or snares to catch you by the feet."⁶⁰

The finest of these houses was Honselaarsdijk (c.1630, renovated c.1680), two hours from The Hague, "about the same distance as Hampton Court from London". Tourists could leave their chaises at the inn near the gates. Bowrey wrote: "The King's house is about 180 foot square, moated round [and] two storeys high", handsomely built of brick and stone with about 20 rooms on each floor. Evelyn called it magnificent and Vernon compared it to the Luxembourg in Paris, in spite of the difference in size. According to Taylor "the audience room [was] hung with blue damask and the cabinet lined with Indian work. In the great dining room the plafond or ceiling [was] painted round with bannisters and several comical pictures looking as it were over at others playing on music". There was fine furniture and a large collection of paintings comprising a portrait of Charles I by Van Dijck and a Venus by Rubens. One gallery contained pictures of "all the King's family", painted by various masters. John Leake was impressed:

Mary of Modena, King James the Second's Queen is the finest piece there and indeed the canvas wants nothing but warmth and words to make it do as much execution upon the heart of a young cavalier as Venus herself.

Queen Mary's room was "lined with china lackered boards, and the mantlepiece curiously adorned with fine red chinaware". The "Switzers" on guard inside the house, looked quite handsome to Mountague with their flat caps, cloaks and great whiskers. As at Rijswijk, the stables were vast and in the park exotic animals could be seen besides "a great store of pheasants [and] ten or twelve couple of hounds", indispensable for William, whose favourite pastime was hunting. During his lifetime the gardens were well looked after, even "most of the rare plants of the Indies which will grow in our climate" were cultivated here. Taylor saw "a great basin with an Arion of brass, supported by four dolphins with shells and jets d'eaux and eight statues in brass round the basin, two of which were Ceres and Apollo". There was also a greenhouse with an orangerie. Northleigh wrote:

From the backside of the house there is a delicious prospect through a pleasant grove and divers regular plantations of greens, which make up

a square of about half a mile from each angle to the centre, the utmost rows of trees being set in lines like a landskip.

Farrington did not attempt a description but bought a print.⁶¹

By far the finest house and gardens of the United Provinces at the end of the century were at Loo (1684; enlarged 1692), on the Veluwe, "a large heath [...] one of the best hunting countries in the world". A description of it was published by one of the King's physicians, Dr. Walter Harris in 1699, but although the palace was built "after the modern architecture, with sash windows", travellers thought it was "rather neat than magnificent". Ironwork had been used for the entrance instead of marble and the building seemed "designed more for the Prince of Orange than a King of England".

While going through the house with her daughter Mrs. Burnet was reminded of her first meeting with Queen Mary, "that most excellent princess, which I cannot recall without concern. We were not worthy of such a blessing". Farrington and his companions were shown around one rainy morning in November from 8 to 12. From the entrance hall they went to the left into the Queen's dining room and the apartment of the Prince of Friesland (antichamber, chamber and cabinet) from where they returned

into the King's antichamber, which was furnished with blue silk laced with gold; the chairs and hangings the same. In the room of state was very good tapestry [...] This chamber was hung with scarlet damask, all the furniture the same and laced with gold. In the first closet were several good paintings of bright colours. Through that we passed into a second, which was hung with extraordinary fine paintings. There was a small piece of a woman rocking a cradle, which was valued at 16,000 guilders; a very good piece of Erasmus; another of an English divine of 1541; one of King Henry VIII when young; a very fine picture which resembles the pictures we have of him and the dress is pretty much the same. There is also an admirable piece of an old man, mending a pen at a table, a young woman at the same table reading by the light of the candle and a man coming to light his candle by it. A very fine, though very small, piece of soldiers lying upon their arms upon the floor of a church only to be discerned by the light of a small candle that burns at the entrance and by a fire that reflects a light from the end of the church through the isles of it. Christ in the Virgin Mary's lap, with the wise men presenting their treasure to Him etc.

Then came the apartments of the "Princess of Frizeland" and the Queen with her library, the gallery, the King's dining room and the

room leading to it with “four large hunting pieces”, the chapel, the apartments of “the Princes Vaudemont and Albemarle” and finally

a small cool room, very pleasant in summer where there is abundance of china; it is floored with Dutch tile and the sides of the room are lined with the same. Beyond that is the grotto, where the fountains make a very pleasant and agreeable murmur, which would easily incline one to sleep. From thence there are steps that lead into the garden towards the bowers and orangery.

The gardens were universally admired. Shaw mentioned the cascades, waterworks and menagerie but confessed his pen was not eloquent enough to do justice to the scene. Fortunately an Utrecht student did feel equal to the task and described a section of the gardens near the house:

It consists of gravel and greens laid in knots and figures, and on each side of the garden is a grass terrace and at the top on the edge of the slopes are pyramids of yew and other greens and many small pyramids in pots up and down the whole garden [...] There is also a bowling green, which is the only one I ever remember to have seen in these countries.

A few special features are mentioned by Southwell, the “pond of an acre square”, the starwalk, the aviary, the labyrinth, the flower garden and two globes, “one a terrestrial, the other a celestial one”. Both spouted water, “the one from the chief ports, the other from the noted stars”. To crown all there was a fountain whose water jet reached a height of 50 feet. Southwell rounded off his remarks by mentioning the view, which was vast and the cost, enormous:

There are two amphitheatres at the end of the great garden and between these your eye is conveyed above a mile to a large pyramid erected where the garden seems to terminate [...] It is generally computed that there has been laid out here very near £200,000.⁶²

CONCLUSION

For the seventeenth-century tourist who kept a travel journal, his visits to the various towns were the most important part of the journey. In the south and east of the United Provinces he (or very occasionally she) inspected the fortifications and listened to the guide telling him

about sieges. In the provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland he admired the very neat towns, with paved streets and straight canals lined with trees and rows of houses built with great uniformity.

Tourists interested in works of art, antiquities and objects of natural history went to see a large number of public and private collections in the various towns. Although many of them felt more at home in The Hague, a visit to Amsterdam was the main object of the journey in Holland. Here tourists did not only admire the splendid town hall with its modern paintings and sculptures, but also the churches, the Exchange, the Admiralty buildings, the East-India houses, the charitable institutions and the houses of correction. A particular attraction here was the great number of different religions, which gave tourists a full day's job on Sundays.

In their leisure time travellers relaxed in taverns or coffee-houses, went shopping or paid a visit to the theatre, where they were rarely impressed with the performances in Dutch or French. The music houses in Amsterdam were thought curious or abominable, but certainly unsuitable for gentlemen, who must have felt much more at ease in The Hague, where they were among equals.

Apart from the general remarks on the low-lying country and the eternal struggle of its inhabitants against the sea, relatively little was written about what tourists saw outside the towns. Holland for them was an urbanized society and most of their comments concern "industrial" activities going on in the neighbourhood of the cities: the large number of mills producing a great variety of products, the shipbuilding industry, or the bleaching fields near Haarlem. Of special interest for wealthy tourists with private estates, were the country houses, many of which did not fail to impress because of their modern garden architecture, notably in the houses belonging to William III and his favourites.

NOTES

¹ Utrecht, Anon. 1699, 5: "The cingle (from the Latin word *cingulum* because as a girdle it encompasses the town) [...] is as fine a walk as one need desire, it being about 3 short miles in circuit"; cf. also Anon. 1662, 38v; in Leiden tourists climbed the Burcht (cf. Browne, n. 52-55), in Nijmegen the Belvédère; Southwell, 65; Isham, R, IV, 15; Fraser, 92v, says that apart from the steeples there were special turrets for tourists at Amsterdam; Farrington, 26 (Haarlem), was not allowed to climb the tower because it was a time of war; Anon. 1691, 28 (Groningen): "The Lords have forbidden any strangers going to the top"; Erskine, 172; Browne, n. 156; Farrington, 35.

² Talman, 1698, Diary, 23 (Rhenen): "I ascended by 300 high stone steps to the third balcony; by ladders one may ascend 30 steps higher"; Brereton, 51 (Haarlem): "Steep ladders, weak and narrow steps towards the top"; Mundy, 69; Nicolson, 2v; Erskine, 163; Moryson, I, 44 (JJ, 223); Anon. 1699, 9; Rotterdam, Skippon, 388; Moryson, I, 48-49 (JJ, 232; 234); Browne, n. 122.

³ Penson, 31r; Erskine, 172, states there were 51 bells; Bargrave, 89v; Walker, 3.

⁴ Skippon, 409: "This place is differently built from the towns in Holland"; wooden houses, Veryard, 15; Arnheim, Anon. 1691, 5; Anon. 1662, 38v; Fitzwilliam, 14v; Ray, 38; Moryson, I, 53 (JJ, 243); cf. Browne, n. 147; Mountague, 196.

⁵ Cf. Gen. Introd., p. 9; Lithgow, 42; *A True Plaine [...] Discourse*, 3; Burnet jr., 102r, at Den Bosch; Richards, 1685, 4; cf. Browne, n. 253.

⁶ Fitzwilliam, 25r-v; Farrington, 62; Nijmegen, cf. Anon. 1700-01, 281: "Coe-hoorn has ordered a sort of fortification there that I never saw before, because it could require a vast deal of time to repair the old bastions and half moons. He has made 3 little bastions together in 3 or 4 places at convenient distances. These bastions have not above 4 or 5 foot between them and the counterscarp, which is not above the height of a man [...] This is done to save the expense and time it would have taken up to fortify the town regularly, for certainly these could not resist an enemy long"; cf. Southwell, 63; Maastricht, Anon. 1700-01, 280; cf. Skippon, 410: "A strong wall and good trench about the town, besides many half moons etc."; Browne, n. 253; Isham, 15.

⁷ Grave, Evelyn, 57; Den Bosch and Breda, cf. Browne, n. 177-79; 187; Bergen op Zoom, Isham, R, III, 27-28; cf. Drake (1710), 18, and Moryson, I, 49 (JJ, 234-35); Taylor (1707), 79: "The fortifications [...] are prodigiously strong, having all the additions Monsieur Coehoorn designed"; Anon. 1711, 5; Anon. 1695-99, 13; Mountague, 192; Isham, R, II, 30; Brockman, 60v; Anon. 1700-01, 281.

⁸ Anon. 1662, 38v; streets, Bargrave, 93r; cf. also Evelyn, 46-47; Fraser, 91v; Coryat, 363; the water was kept in circulation by windmills, Veryard, 18; Bowrey, 43; cf. Moryson, III, 70; Skippon, 388; Penson, 9r; Clement, 4r: "If they had not a contrivance to lock the front walls into the beams, they must naturally fall"; cf. also Thornhill, 39, and Nicolson, 2v.

⁹ Browne, n. 92-93; Moryson, I, 44 (JJ, 223); Rotterdam steeple, Richards, 1692, 1r, and Anon. 1699, 2; Brereton, 66; Mundy, 66; Walker, 4: "They admit of few coaches upon wheels for fear of shaking and loosening the foundations"; Mountague, 224; Anon. 1699, 10: "Strangers of any good fashion have the liberty of using coaches with wheels [...] and I was told that physicians had the liberty to use such also"; Taylor (1707), 101; Shaw, 38; Style (1669), 37, sledges at Amsterdam cost five shillings a day and "stand at every corner of a street".

¹⁰ Taylor (1707), 10; Evelyn, 46: "Every particular man's bark or vessel at anchor before his very door"; Fitzwilliam, 19r: "Merchandise may be brought up by water to everyone's house, which saves abundance of charges"; Anon. 1699, 1; cf. idem, 9: "The best buildings are on the Keizers or Emperors Gracht and on the Herengracht; several of these are so stately that they may compare with some palaces [...]; the canals are planted on each side with limes, the water is broad and straight for a great way together, the buildings on each side are very noble and regular, besides the pleasure of seeing so many sorts of boats and vessels as are commonly here, is very delightful"; cf. Evelyn, 47-48: "a city in a wood"; lamps, Mountague, 136; chimes, Ray, 48; Walker, 4: "The grafts for the most part smell noisome in a morning but custom

makes it natural to the inhabitants"; cf. Anon. 1662, 38v: "Notwithstanding this fair lady be so beautiful that she charms the eyes of all her beholders, yet she has a stinking breath; for though the tide come into these channels, yet many times here as well as at Venice, have I met with very offensive smells"; Child, 2v, preferred the canals at Rotterdam (which "in the hottest weather never offend by the tide's refreshing them") to those in Amsterdam, Leiden, etc., which "in warm weather stink to that degree as would poison anyone not born in a house of office or in Amsterdam"; Neville, 27, mentions the "pitchy smell" of the boats which "infected" Rotterdam; Fitzwilliam, 19r: "Most of the streets are planted with trees and through them runs water, which if it was fresh it would make Amsterdam the Paradise of the world."

¹¹ Shown around by host, Penson, 9; 12; Fraser, 93r-v; banker, Brereton, 22-23; Leake, 14r; minister, cf. chap. 2, p. 87; scholar, Skippon, 400; Nicolson, 9v; countryman, Brereton, 28; Browne, n. 79; Erskine, 188; 190; Moody, 34r; tourist guide, Pepys, 139; 145; Southwell, 64; Isham, 34; Farrington, 37; 44; 246 (Arnhem); 251; cf. Thornhill, 102 and Bowrey, 80, say a guide could easily be hired for a shilling a day; Gouda, Bromley, 277; Penson, 32r-33v; a full description is in Carr, 1744, 93-102; cf. Brockman, 59v, and Isham, R, III, 3-15; Leiden, Evelyn, 51-52; Denne, 22; Browne, n. 55; Walker, 3; Skippon, 401: "a well [...] where they say, fish were found that did relieve the city when it was besieged"; Blainville, 22 (also bread).

¹² Skippon, 392; Hope, 166; Yonge, 101.

¹³ Great Hall, Fitzwilliam, 30v: "The hall within the court is long and large, on both sides are shops, where all sorts of things are to be sold but the greatest ornaments of this hall are the colours taken of the Spaniards"; cf. Moryson, I, 52 (JJ, 240); Evelyn, 41; Pepys, 138; Mountague, 37; Veryard, 10; States General, Bowrey, 52-53; Isham, 14; Neville, 32: "They were making a fine council chamber for the States General, where are to be the pictures of all the princes of Orange; but the colours of the picture in the middle of the ceiling are not good"; States of Holland, Mountague, 26-29; Leake, 21r; Penson, 14r.

¹⁴ *A New Description*, 91; Northleigh, 704: "Their townhouse can't compare either with that of Delft or Rotterdam"; Middelburg, Coryat, 373; Delft, Veryard, 11; Haarlem, Brereton, 50; Flushing, Coryat, 374; Delft, Brereton, 19; cf. Browne, n. 35; Enkhuizen, Leake, 18r; cf. Isham, 40: "The frontispiece [...] is of stone [...] the inside is not quite finished, but a little hall above is paved with marble"; Talman, 1698, Diary, 17-18; Nijmegen, cf. Locke, n. 55; Leiden, Browne, n. 56; Haarlem, paintings, cf. Browne, n. 69-70; Coster, Skippon, 403; Anon. 1710, 8v (from Misson); Ellis, 1416; cf. Browne, n. 67; Leake, 15r: "It is some part of the Old Testament story in old Dutch rhymes. We saw also a Tully's Offices of the same antiquity"; swords, Veryard, 6; Isham, 18; Shaw, 31; Delft, Evelyn, 41; Brereton, 19-20: "Herein is a wooden yoke [...] the wearing is enjoined as a punishment throughout all the town upon whores, petty larceners, skippers that exact [...]", remainder of quotation in chap. 4, pp. 183-84.

¹⁵ Anon. 1695-99, 11; Fitzwilliam, 18; Bargrave, 91r; Reresby, 124-25; Browne, n. 111; Penson, 20r-v; Taylor (1707), 100; Browne, n. 112; criticism, Fitzwilliam, 18; Anon. 1699, 8: "The lower part is generally too dark"; arches, idem: "this seems an almost unpardonable fault if it were not for the reason that it was thought requisite to be so for its greater strength"; Walker, 4: "The frontispiece comes far short of the rest of the work. Yet the Dutch have this salvo for it that it was contrived for strength [...]; arms, Mountague, 134; Brockman, 63v: "Hearing so much said of it before and

a thing so few are permitted to see, it appeared not to me what I expected"; bank, Isham, 20; Bowrey, 40-41; cf. Carr, 63-64, describing the safe in which the "Journal-book" was kept; Anon. 1695-99, 15-16, explains at some length how the bank works.

¹⁶ Isham, 20-21; dust, idem, R, I, 72; Farrington, 33-34; Drake (1710), 9; Neville, 39-40; Taylor (1707), 100; Isham, 20-21; *A New Description*, 65; cf. Chiswell, 10v: "The carved work and painting [...] is not quite finished and but few rooms furnished according to the first intent"; prophesy, Temple, *Observations*, 88; Bowrey, 36; Anon. 1699, 8; Isham, R, II, 71; long description in Carr, 19-22; *A New Description*, 63-67.

¹⁷ Utrecht, Browne, n. 148-50; Richards, 1692, 13v; Southwell, 66; Anon. 1691, 40: "I saw a rarity chamber [...] of which I have a book"; Ellis, 1417.

¹⁸ Fitzwilliam, 28; cf. Northleigh, 705 and Howell, *F.L.*, 32; Anon. 1695-99, 16; cf. Veryard, 7: "It's a tall pile of brickwork, more commodious than splendid, having been a convent of nuns before the Reformation"; Eton, Dawes, 10; for Nicolson's comment, cf. chap. 1, n. 62; cf. Shaw, 5 (Utrecht): "the university of this place is nothing if compared to the English"; Cunningham, 19 Aug. 1686 (Utrecht); Drake (1710), 5; Blainville, 53: "students [...] walk through the streets in their morning gowns"; duels, Northleigh, 707; Isham, 100-01; Bromley, 278; Haccius writes that students were often attacked by "rogues with knives", one of whom had been killed by German students recently (16 Dec., 1704).

¹⁹ Mountague, 95; Veryard, 8; Anon. 1712, 7v; also on press, Evelyn, 52; Ray, 27; Skippon, 399; laboratory, Veryard, 7-8; cf. Browne, n. 60; library, Skippon, 400; cf. Anon. 1686, 18r: "the libraries are but mean"; Evelyn, 51; MSS, Nicolson, 8r-v; Veryard, 8; Allardus Uchtmannus (1611-1680), professor of Hebrew and Greek.

²⁰ Brereton, 40; he bought a catalogue of the plants (42); cf. Skippon, 399, who gives the Latin names of the plants in the 11th and 12th bed; simples, Anon. 1662, 37v; surface, Northleigh, 705; tiles, Fraser, 95v; Nicolson, 8v; Veryard, 8; Fraser, 95v; Lawson, 163; Jew, Fraser, 95v; Brereton, 42: "In this garden a tree [...] prickled"; Bowrey, 48; Anon. 1699, 4; also Neville, 36; Amsterdam, cf. Ellis, 1417, Anon. 1711, 74r, Thornhill, 98.

²¹ Gallery, Fitzwilliam, 29r; Brereton, 42; Evelyn, 52-53; Locke, Dewhurst, 262-63; hippopotamus, Northleigh, 706; long quotation, Anon. 1699, 4; cf. Nicolson, 9r; catalogues, Browne, n. 59; fee, Rawlinson, 9, paid 12 st. (for two) for visits to anatomy theatre and physic garden; American, Fitzwilliam, 28v; Skippon, 400; Northleigh, 705-06; knife, also Evelyn, 53-54; Anon. 1699, 5; Taylor (1707), 98; money, Fitzwilliam, 28v, and Nicolson, 9r.

²² Bagot, 2; above stairs, Anon. 1699, 4; Lawson, 163; Penson, 16r; thief, Anon. 1699, 4: "[...] another who had a shirt made of his own bowels and shoes of his own skin"; cf. Rawdon, 102: "the skin of a Scotsman dried"; uncleanness, *A New Description*, 100 and Wasowski, 250; woman, Brereton, 41; nobleman, Mountague, 82; cf. Browne, n. 61.

²³ Anon. 1710, 6v: "Cabinets to be seen: de Witzen, Van der Ham, Occo, Grill (C. Patin)"; Vincents (= Levinus Vincent, *NNBW*), cf. Bowrey, 41 and Uffenbach (1705), I, xcv-xcvii, mainly insects, open two days a week; Jac. de Wilde, coins; Drake (1710), 12: "Mons. Vincent has there a fine closet of rarities which are to be seen only on Wednesday morning"; a visitors' book (c.1690-1720) has been preserved in the Amsterdam city archives; Vincent later moved to Haarlem, acc. to Haller, 97, the catalogue was f3 and a guided tour (group) at least f2; cf. Anon. 1711, 5: "We saw an extraordinary fine collection of shells and insects, and at Mr. Van der Heyden's

some very good Dutch pieces"; Farrington, 59-60; Leeuwenhoek, Child, 177, 9, also mentions his *Arcana naturae detecta*; cf. Locke, Dewhurst, 273: "The glasses we saw in, he said, would magnify to a million, which I understood of cubicle augmentation, which is but 100 in length"; Farrington, 267-68: "He shows [his rarities] only to Nobility or to those that take upon them that character, except they are some that are acquainted with him [...] He scorns to take money, only he values himself on a medal which was presented him by the Duke of Wolfenbüttel"; Shaw, 20; Van der Mere, Skippon, 391 and Ray, 24-25 (they also saw Mr. Cliver's collection in Middelburg, Skippon, 385); Northleigh, 704; La Faille, Child, 178, 15; Berry "who formerly had been consul at Sevilla", Isham, 22; Carleton, 349-50; Anon. 1711, 4; Farrington, 22-23.

²⁴ Cf. Nicolson, 16v-17r: "I saw Mr. Smetius' Numismata, near 11,000 in number [...] He showed me also a vast collection of Roman urns, rings, buckles etc. of which he has given a catalogue in his *Antiquitates Noviomagenses*"; cf. also Southwell, 64, and Locke, n. 55; Perth, 50; Northleigh, 704: "He had cut the finest piles of noble structures, fretwork, bas- and high relievo, forest work, ships and landskips, as lively [...]"; lacework, Bowrey, 30; point de Venise, Anon. 1695-99, 6; cf. Mure, 172: "It is said the late Queen Mary went in disguise to see them; which he understanding though he sold none, yet he presented her Majesty with some of them, which are in her closet"; Child, 4v: "You see storms, calms, flowers, building etc., wherein a just distance is observed and a good design as well as a curious hand is apparent in them all. The paper is not cut through, but is forced up by the penknife"; Anon. 1699, 2: "They were in a gentleman's house who cut them himself for his diversion"; cf. also Chiswell (quoted in Bowrey, 30), Anon. 1710, 11v; Richards, 1692, 1v; Taylor (1707), 81; Rijberg, Ellis, 1418: She "cuts in paper not only towns as Loo and Hounslerdyke, but faces to an extreme likeness. She has done [...] saw, and refuses 1000 guilders for the pieces; it is so curious that I could not believe the Queen's drapery not to be point, till I had most exquisitely enquired into it"; cf. also Shrewsbury, 489, and Drake (1710), 3; both artists are mentioned in G. van Spaan, *Beschrijving van Rotterdam*, 1698 (1738 ed., 414).

²⁵ Skene (1590), 33v: "Like our kirks in all things except they have organs, which we have not"; Penson, Leeds MS, 19; Taylor (1707), 78; cf. Nicolson, 3v, saw thousands of them in the great church at The Hague and wrote: "The Hollanders (like our bold Britons) are all gentlemen and anyone here may have a coat of arms that has the wit to contrive them"; Thornhill, 39; Farrington, 271; 236 (in Nijmegen): "In my opinion [they] are far from being ornamental"; Chiswell, 10v: "the best of themselves are contented with escutcheons containing their coats of arms to be hung up upon the walls over their graves, of which there are abundance in all churches of Holland"; Penson, 20v: "Nor is there to be found in all their churches any curious monuments but such as are for their sea admirals and commanders, for the preservation of whose memory they spare no cost"; inscriptions, Coryat, I, 11; pointing, Blainville, 8; cf. Isham, 34: "for the inscriptions I had no time to take them"; Obdam, Northleigh, 705; Child, 177, 10; Taylor (1707), 89; also Isham, R, I, 38-40; William of Orange, Yonge, 100-01; cf. Taylor (1707), 84; Nicolson, 5v; Browne, n. 37; Farrington, 268.

²⁶ Reresby, 125; Moryson, I, 44 (JJ, 223): "The merchants in summer meet upon the bridge and in winter they meet in the New Church"; Brereton, 67; Bargrave, 91v-92r; a long description of the pulpit is in Berry, 9v; screen, Walker, 4; cf.

Browne, n. 94; Skippon, 406; altar, Shrewsbury, 483; Isham, 19: "In the choir is a fine monument erected to Admiral Ruyter, he lies at his length upon a bed of honour with his head upon a piece of cannon, having one hand on his breast and holding with the other the staff of command. In the church is a monument of Van Galen, another sea commander, he lies in marble with the staff of command in his right hand and a medal in his left which leans upon his breast, having a helmet at his feet and beneath is represented his last victory"; organ, Reresby, 125; Penson, 21; Fraser, 92; cf. Evelyn, 50-51; Raymond, 32: "Organs [...] in winter evenings used to be played on in all times, the people in great numbers walking as in an Exchange"; Yonge, 102 (Rotterdam): "In the winter every Wednesday night, the small pair [of organs ...] play 4 hours and several ladies in galleries sing to it"; Walker, 4; cf. Prideaux, 74r (New Church Amsterdam): "The organist is obliged to play for the public every Saturday at 6 in the afternoon."

²⁷ *A Late Voyage*, 535; Mountague, 49; Middelburg, cf. Browne, n. 229; Groningen, cf. Locke, n. 45; Leiden, cf. Fraser, 95v: "A little from the Amsterdam gate at which we entered, stands the great church St. John's. This fabric is a round frame with rows of pillars set about and paved under the arches, the pleasant walk of the citizens. The steeple not high, built of stone and brick, terminated above in a round cupola and under the weathercock the crosskeys, set off gilded from the arms of the city. This church has three porches, the seats within so set in degrees above one another that it can hold a considerable number of people, much like the French Protestant churches"; Brereton, 63; similar remark by Brockman, 62v; gift, Penson, 21v; synagogue, Mountague, 146.

²⁸ Turnour, 4; Berry, 10r-v; Bagot, 4; description of London synagogue (1662), cf. Ellis, 2nd ser. vol. II, p. 8-21.

²⁹ Brereton, 28; Bargrave, 94r; Brereton, 63; Evelyn, 44: "There was after sermon a christening celebrated according to their fancy, which was homely enough"; Mountague, 144; Isham, 19; Brereton, 64.

³⁰ Story, II, 42; *Observations* (1622), 4: "There were not more different languages at the tower of Babel, than there are different beliefs in Holland"; Ferrar, 43; Anon. 1686, 32; Mountague, 147.

³¹ Northleigh, 704: he "was dressed in a loose coat without a girdle"; Bowrey, 38; Ray, 45: "The collections for the poor are made in sermon-time, a purse with a bell hanging at the bottom of it and fastened to the end of a pole, being by the collector reached to everyone"; Anon. 1669, 42; cf. Mountague, 170; Yonge, 102; Neville, 32 (The Hague); Prideaux, 74v; Penson, 22v, went to a solemn Te Deum in "The Krijtbergen or Jesuits' church" in Amsterdam.

³² London exchange finer, Brereton, 55; Evelyn, 46: "in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burden ride at the very quay contiguous to it"; Skippon, 405; Mountague, 162: "some few inconsiderable toy-shops at one end above stairs"; Bargrave, 92v, is an exception: "The Burse, which is exactly like our merchant exchange as to its form and use, but is finer as in its adornments"; Isham, 21; cf. Bowrey, 34, and Penson, 17v, who copied the Dutch inscription on the exchange; 6 st., *A New Description*, 71; cf. Browne, n. 102.

³³ Admiralty buildings, Prinsenhof, cf. Schenk, 28; Kattenburg, Schenk, 51-54; cf. Browne, n. 83-85; Fitzwilliam, 18v; Carr, 31; Vernon, 259; Hok, Shaw, 41; East India Company, headquarters in the Hoogstraat, Schenk, 31, extensive description in Carr, 37-40; Oostenburg, Schenk, 55; cf. Browne, n. 88; Shaw, 40, exaggerated; acc.

to Bowrey, 40, the building was 500 by 50 ft.; correct dimensions in Blainville, 38: 636 by 70 ft. (cf. *Teg. Staat*, V, 46); Mountague, 159.

³⁴ Fraser, 93v, cf. Browne Introd., n. 2; Pampus, Carr, 31: "The great ships built at Amsterdam had like to have proved of no use, had not the ingenious pensionary De Witt found out a device to carry them over the Pampus betwixt those they call water-ships"; cf. also Chiswell, 11r-v; Northleigh, 708; Johan de Witt; Fitzwilliam, 9r; Hammond, 63; critical, cf. chap. 4, pp. 195-96; *A New Description*, 75; cf. Howell, *Instructions*, 71: "The New town of Amsterdam and the forest of masts which lies perpetually before her"; cf. Browne, n. 81.

³⁵ Cf. Hope, 161: "I went through a great many of their houses of charity"; Anon. 1669, 43r: "When for curiosity they visit an hospital they fail not in some measure to remember the poor, whose box both there and in all churches stands at the entrance"; 2 st., Bowrey, 39; Orrery, July 11, 1686, paid 82 st. for 7 sights at Amsterdam (4 persons); Bedlam, Bargrave, 92r-v; Penson, 24r; Brereton, 49-50, quoted in Browne, n. 71; Shaw, 40; cf. Schenk, 24, 35, 65 for various old women's homes; Locke, Dewhurst, 244: "They call it Knorrenburg, i.e. arx grunnentium. It is capable of 400 persons, there were then 314. They lodged 4 in a room, each in a bed. They have no chimneys in their rooms, which are paved with marble. Their footstoves in the winter supply heat"; cf. Shrewsbury, 484: "They lie 4 in a small chamber like a nun's cell in 4 beds against the wall, 2 on each side"; Isham, 21-22, says there were 464 women: "I was shown in it a woman of 105 years old"; Ferrar, 43-44; cf. Crowne, 68, says there were 800 orphans: "all clad alike, the one side of their garments black and the other red"; Anon. 1695-99, 14; Northleigh, 708; Rawdon, 100-01; Walker, 4; 20,000, Mountague, 169; Northleigh, 708.

³⁶ Molyneux, 470-71; cf. Howell, *F.L.*, 30: "It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here, as rare as to see a horse [...] upon the streets of Venice"; whores rounded up, cf. Brereton, 55; Denne, 22; Aglionby, 277; Browne, 97; Neville, 40; pump, Bargrave, 93r; cf. Mountague, 173-75; Isham, 22; Style, 36; cf. Schama, 22-23.

³⁷ Bowrey, 39; Mundy, 73-74; Skippon, 405; Mountague, 62; Farrington, 13 (in Leiden); Bargrave, 93r: "The Spinhouse for whores, where I then saw about a hundred at work, one whereof was a Burgomaster's daughter; most of them were young but few handsome yet two or three so comely, that were Nature God, it were a sin to curb them from obeying her laws, or to let them engross those beauties she gave them for another end"; Shaw, 39; cf. Anon. 1699, 9: "This is for the women who have been guilty of too many gallantries. But though some are taken up and confined here, they say there are many hundreds of others who perhaps deserve it as well as they, have their elbows at liberty and are even connived at by the government; and they think this liberty a necessary piece of policy to prevent worse disorders."

³⁸ Dining, cf. chap. 2, p. 99; Thornhill, 59, with an English merchant; Chiswell, 9v, 11r, Dutch and English; Mountague, 164-66: "The same irreverent and indecent discourse they have in their coffee-houses"; cowries, idem, 200; Isham, 101; Taylor (1707), 12; Skippon, 393.

³⁹ Doolhof, extensive descriptions in Brereton, 56-59; Mundy, 76-77; Evelyn, 46-47; Skippon, 407: "In this city are two labyrinth gardens, where drink etc. is sold; in the middle of yards belonging to them, are statues out of which water is surprisingly forced"; Fitzwilliam, 19r: "where the common people take their recreation, in which you will find all sort of puppet play and good waterworks"; birds, Bowrey, 40; Shaw, 37; Farrington, 271: "Here is a bird they call a 'crawn vogel', from the noise he

makes, which is very like what the word *crawn* does express"; cf. Thornhill, 98-101, with descriptions of birds seen at Blauw Jan; Isham, 22; Oliver: "in body somewhat like a hawk but its head and neck bald like a vulture, only a few short feathers over his eyes like eyebrows; his eyes were pretty large and the iris of a very fine bright pearl colour, which gave a great beauty to this bird"; fantastic, Bagot, 4; china, Mundy, 76-77; cf. Browne, n. 105; Penson, 17r; cf. Mundy, 78: "In the middle is a table whereat may sit 8 persons of a side, but it will commodiously hold 2 such tables with benches whereon may easily sit 32 persons"; cf. Browne, n. 140; Vernon, 258.

⁴⁰ Farrington, 270 and Style, 27; cf. Ray, 48: "A multitude of storks frequent these countries, building upon their chimneys in the towns and cities as well as villages"; Mountague, 185-86; Fraser, 93r; Grey, letter Jan. 1692; Douglas also promised his sister a dog (7 Febr. 1687); on dogmarket, Howell, *F.L.*, 29: "Every Sunday morning there is a kind of public mart for those commodities"; Evelyn, 46, says it was held in the exchange between 11 and 2. Later it was held on Monday morning, cf. Penson, 29r; Pepys, 148; Skippon, 389; pistols, Anon. 1691, 45, Chiswell, 11v, Anon. 1699, 7, Orrery, 19 Jan. 1687, Douglas, 7 Feb. 1687: "I must also buy a pair of pistols, about eight crowns price, this being the only good place for them"; Locke, accounts, 18; Hope, 155-56; 163: "I offered 22 lib. great but they held it at 28 lib."

⁴¹ Wodrow, *Correspondence*, e.g., 19: "I desire you may buy there their large Greek grammar [...] If you can get it at an auction or otherwise for two or three guilders. Any other little late piece in Latin or French on natural philosophy, mathematics that you think I would be curious of, that you can get easy at an auction, buy it for me and send over with any sure hand and I shall pay its price to whom you desire"; Erskine, 177-78, also went to auctions; Shaw, 42, his spelling is rather haphazard, e.g. Van Waesberge; Howell, *F.L.*, 35, looked for a "large Ortelius in French"; Evelyn, 49, went to Hondius' shop, where he bought several maps and met Joan Blaeu; Hope, 161: "I went to Janssonius, Elzevir and some other book shops but found them very dear; yet I bought some"; bibles, Hope, 165; Nicolson, 14v: "They showed me also several books printed here with the title pages as if at Cologne, Leipsick, Maintz etc. Whence it comes to pass that you may buy books cheaper at Amsterdam in all languages than at the places where they are first printed; for here the copy cost them nothing"; Douglas, cf. Cunningham, 28 May 1686, 27 March 1687 and Douglas, 10 Jan. 1687; Anon. 1691, 32; Anon. 1686, lists of titles at end MS.

⁴² Shrewsbury, 483; Evelyn, 49; Bargrave, 90v-91r; cf. Mure, 178; Penson, 28v; Fitzwilliam, 17r: "By St. Joris chapel is a place called it Pant, where all sort of rare carved woodwork is to be seen"; Vernon, 258; cf. Browne, n. 118; Ellis, 1417 (at Den Bosch); Barlow, 247-48; Forrester, June 4, 1709, the estimate was as follows,

	600:00:00
4 dozen of shifts at <i>f</i> 3 per Dutch ell amount to	the making 50:00:00
2 dozen of shirts at <i>f</i> 3 per ell	360:00:00
making and buttons	30:00:00
for the lace for the shirts at <i>f</i> 10 per ell	<u>480:00:00</u>
In all	1520:00:00

"As for the lace, heads and ruffles, they are from five and twenty or thirty to a hundred pounds sterling a suit"; Dorset, Febr. 6, 1691 N.S.; Blainville, accounts, 14 Jan. 1705; Orrery, May 30, 1689; Brereton, 59-60; 69; 12: "a captain pays 20 guilders a week"; idem, 60.

⁴³ Evelyn, 39-40: "especially landscapes and drolleries, as they call those clownish representations"; products sold, Browne, 92; Penson, 12v-13r; Thornhill, 37; kermis, cf. also Temple, *Observations*, 115.

⁴⁴ Fraser, 90v: "There is a general fair which goes over the country and continues as for 5 or 6 weeks. It begins in July at Utrecht, thence to Amsterdam, thence to Rotterdam etc. and they call this their Kermis"; Isham, 12; Leake, 15r; 16r; 18r; cock, Evelyn, 40; he also describes an elephant and a pelican he saw at Rotterdam; boor, Yonge, 105 (1667) says he had died shortly before: "He was nine Maze feet long, which is a little less than ours and had every part in proportion. His hands and skin very soft, and his lips like velvet. He was fond to kiss women, but was but a little escaped from being a natural idiot"; Anon. 1710, 12v (from Misson); Anon. 1712, 8v; cf. Isham, 102, saw an English rope dancer at The Hague; Farrington, 50-51; Leake, 18r; Brereton, 28 (at Delft).

⁴⁵ Leake, 16r; Talman, 1698, Tours, 5; Puritan protests against the theatre, cf. Moryson, I, 199: "bankrupts, stage players and men of base condition"; Brereton, 10, refers to "an honest burgomaster [of Rotterdam, who] would not admit players that came to the city to act"; cf. Geyl, 241; Skippon, 406; Fitzwilliam, 19r: "the schouwburg, where twice a week comedies are represented"; Mountague, 216: "The pit is about 2 shillings English money; the gallery 16 pence; behind the pit sixpence, but there the mob will stand, breaking in by force sometimes."

⁴⁶ Poor, Northleigh, 708; Mountague, 217: "£2,000 per annum"; good acting, e.g. Bowrey, 42; "curious", Moody, 10; cf. Moryson, Hughes, 373 (JJ, 289): "for comedians they little practise that art and are the poorest actors that can be imagined"; Grey, June 2, 1690; Mountague, 213-16, comments in detail on the only play he liked, "Crispin the Physician"; Penson, 30r: "The stage is prettily adorned but the altering of their screens is such a tedious business with them that it mightily baulks the fancy of the beholders. I saw a French opera and among others in Dutch the besieging of the city of Leiden"; Taylor (1707), 89-90 (at The Hague): "the Siege of Leiden [...] is no better than a droll in Bartholomew Fair"; Addison, letter 42; Dunthorne's suggestion that British tourists liked the Dutch theatre (80) is not convincing in view of the numerous affirmations to the contrary; Shaw, 38; Hope, 161: "in the afternoon went to see one of their comedies, Rodrigo and Duke of Ferrara. The comedy was naughtily acted but they acted a farce in the end very well"; Isham, 101; cf. Shrewsbury, 480: "We went to Iphigenie, the French comedie and home after nine"; Child, 177, 13.

⁴⁷ Cf. Browne, n. 45; Child, 177, 12v: "The Voorhout is a walk, boarded like our mall in St. James' Park. On each side is a road with walks of high elms, where all the quality of this place appear about six at night in their best coaches and equipages, as constantly as our ladies meet in Hydepark. I have seen 100 coaches of a night"; Grey, Dec. 1691; Anon. 1695-99, 30; Child, 177, 13r-v; Mountague, 38; Sidney, 55; Isham, 102, went to the Odijks 3 times in one week; Southwell, 49: "Having mentioned Monsr. Odijk, we ought not to omit the rendering justice to the great civility and kindness he shows to all the English; for his house is continually full of them, noon and night, and he never fails inviting them whenever he meets them"; Odijk's house is described by Farrington, 22-23, and Thornhill, 51; Villiers, Southwell, 49.

⁴⁸ Walker, 5; Bowrey, 43: "When there is company wanting in the Spinhuis, the Schout sends his officers and takes up as many of these whores as is wanting [...] they

are in a manner tolerated"; Walker, 5 (omitted in typescript); Mountague, 138-39; cf. Anon. 1710 (much from Misson): "Halls for dancing, where the young men and maids meet every evening; these leave the meeting places but the performance is carried on in another"; Harris, 62; Northleigh, 709; cf. Anon. 1672 (MS Stowe 182), 105: "They allow 2 public exchanges or large cellars in Amsterdam that will hold 3 or 400 whores and rogues, where they meet publicly every night to make their vicious bargains; for which licence the owner of the cellar can afford to pay 600 or 700 per anno to the state"; Carr, 70, remainder of this passage in chap. 1, n. 60; cf. p. 135; cf. Anon. 1699, 9; cf. Mandeville, 95-8 for a long description of music houses.

⁴⁹ Mountague, 217-20; Carr, 70; Penson, 26v-27r; Isham, R, I, 96; Pepys, 150; Mountague, 221, says that after a visit to the theatre people go home, have tea and play cards; Fraser, 93r; Prideaux, 75r, and his English friends often played "a small game of whist or hombre"; Cunningham, 7 Feb. 1687, explained to the Duke of Queensberry why it was cheaper for Lord George to send letters than to receive them: "We pay three stivers for the freeing them to The Hague or to The Briele, but because they are addressed to Sir Andrew Forrester, Your Grace pays nothing for the port of them from The Briel to London. By this means Your Grace saves in every letter 10 st. betwixt The Briel and London; and for each letter we receive from Your Grace we pay 12 stivers".

⁵⁰ Yonge, 92; winter, Yonge, 104; Veryard, 18; Clement, 3v; monotonous, Harris, 56; Amsterdam, Mountague, 181; cf. Mundy, 74: "Bad walking out of town except on a wall or bank cast up by hand."

⁵¹ Carr, 13; cf. also Fitzwilliam, 27r, and Mountague, 108; The Hague, Shaw, 25; cf. Hegenitius, 67; Parival, 82-83; Nicolson, 4r-v: "the largest and pleasantest wood in Holland. It is observable that the greatest part of those many thousands of trees [...] are oaks, of which kind you shall scarce meet with any more in Holland"; cf. Browne, n. 46; Fraser, 97r: "Elysian Fields"; Utrecht, Walker, 5; Isham, R, III; Erskine, 166-69; Mountague, 196; 193, around Naarden the country was: "downy, almost like Epsom, the air pretty wholesome and pleasant"; cf. Calamy, 185, on entering Gelderland: "it pleased us to find that province so like to our own country"; similar remarks are made about Loosduinen, near The Hague, cf. Pepys, 149, and Brereton, 36; Nicolson, 15r; Belvédère, Perth, 51; Southwell, 62; Shaw, 15: "One of the most extensive and diverting [views] in Europe"; Talman, 1697, 3, quoted in Locke, n. 47; Maastricht, Skippon, 412; cf. Browne, n. 255-56; Northleigh, 711.

⁵² Cf. Browne, n. 232; Coryat, 371: "Many boors of the country laid a great deal of straw and earth upon it at the edge of the bank, to the end to preserve the bank, that the water may not eat and devour the earth"; Le Petit, 160; cf. also *The Dutch Draught to the Life*, 11; Diemermeer, Talman, 1698, Diary, 1; Brereton, 62; Beemster, Bagot, 5; Anon. 1699, 13: "I have been told that some [farmers] are esteemed worth 20 and some 30 thousand pounds sterling"; Fitzwilliam, 21r-v; cf. Anon. 1695-99, 13: "The soil is rich and abounds with sheep, cattle and horses"; Talman, 1698, Diary, 2; Nicolson, 13v-14r: "that famous dam, which keeps the IJ from drowning the whole country"; Vernon, 260: "3 great sluices that divide the salt and the sweet sea"; Mountague, 110-11: "They sank in this breach [...]"; Medemblik, Parival (1651), 102; Fitzwilliam, 20r-v; Shaw, 32-33: "on them alone depends the safety of almost a million of people"; Fraser, 118v; the poem is by A. Pitcairn: "Tellurem fecere Dei, sua littora Belgae", cf. *The Present State*, 348.

⁵³ Mure, quoted in Browne, n. 50; Browne, *Journal*, Sept. 1-2; Mountague, 181; Hope, 158: "Of this mill I have delineat the iconography in a paper by itself"; Skippon, 389, made a sketch of a device to wring linen; Burnet, *O.M.*, 94: "I observed all their mechanical arts"; Hammond, 63v, studied draining; Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 229); sawmill, Brereton, 62; Hope, 157-58; loom, 160-61; Skippon, 388; Ferrar, 44; Anon. 1691, 33: "At a month's warning they can furnish out a man of war every day for a year"; Mountague, 151: "They underwork and undersell all their neighbour nations, who used to come hither to buy ships, which they could considerably cheaper than at home; they are very slight, ill-built ships"; Shaw, 32: "Here was shown me a shipwright's poor homely cottage in which for several weeks resided the great czar of Muscovy, while he pried into the method of building ships and studied navigation."

⁵⁴ Agriculture, Anon. 1669 and Anon. 1695-99, *passim*; cf. Brereton, 12 (near Dordt): "observed sowed by the way good wheat, oats, much flax, some hemp and rape"; Farrington, 243 (near Nijmegen): "I think the ground must be light, because not far from this city we saw them plow with only one horse, which I don't remember ever to have seen in England"; Talman, 1698, *Diary*, 6: "I went through fields for half an hour together full of tobacco, planted on beds about a foot and a half high and great furrows between [...] When they gather the tobacco to dry it, they pluck the leaves (leaving the stalk standing), which are of a fine lively green, long and taper and taste bitter; these they put in great baskets and carry away to the drying houses"; Southwell, 51; cf. Bargrave, 90r; Fraser, 87r; Brereton, 17; 23; 37; 43; *idem*, 22-23: "This milk is kept in a cool cellar and in brass great vessels; so soon as it is milked it is placed in a trough of cold water to cool the more suddenly"; Style, 38, on the cultivation of hops; Locke, 20-21 (1685); Yonge, 104, cf. Locke, n. 68; Fraser, 94v; cf. Ogier (1636), 110, with a lyrical description of the countryside and milkmaids.

⁵⁵ Vernon, 260: "We passed by those fields that are so famous for whitening of linen, whither Flanders send all theirs, that all the summer time, there may be many thousand acres all covered"; Mountague, 108; Locke, n. 16; peat, Leake, 25r; Skippon, 402-03: "they fish up mud from the bottom of the channels [...] with a net at the end of a pole and load large boats with it"; Talman, 1698, *Tours*, 3: "They stand in the fields, piled up pyramid-like about 6 or 7 foot high, hollow within, that the air may go through; those turfs that are not very dry stand in small heaps about 2 or 3 foot high"; cf. Mundy, 64-65; smell, Moryson, III, 95 (JJ, 257); Mountague, 14.

⁵⁶ Talman, 1698, *Tours*, 1-4, with descriptions of Rijksdorp in Wassenaar, Endegeest in Oegstgeest and Mr. Mark's garden in Leiderdorp; cf. Harris, 55-56: "As we travel along the canals it is delightful to see so many noble country houses bordering upon them and adorned with neat gardens within sight of all passengers"; cf. Mountague, 194, on admiral Tromp's house: "a pretty box, fine gardens, walks and rows of trees with a good moat about it"; Brereton, 44-45, on "Lord Offerbeake's" house near Alphen: "a great house promising much; but entering into it and examining the rooms I found nothing answerable to what was expected" (Matthijs van Overbeke d.1638, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 179); *idem*, 62, on Jacob Pauw's house in the Diemermeer: "which shows bravely and richly and sumptuously, and yet most slight, all composed of boards painted in curious works in oil-colours"; Fitzwilliam, 27v: "Marselig house, the King of Denmark's factor [...], the gardens are pretty and abounding with all sorts of rarities" (Elshout belonging to Gabriel Marselis d.1673, cf. Hunt and De Jong, 116-18); Brereton, 44-45.

⁵⁷ Child, 21r; cf. Anon. 1699, 3: "The house is not extraordinary but the gardens are very pleasant and have abundance of noble walks, but here also the sand is a little troublesome"; Isham, 15; gravel, Anon. 1699, 3, (on the House in the Wood); Leake, 15v: "Gardens in Holland for want of gravel and green turf upon their walks, by no means comparable to ours"; cf. Shaw, 43: "they want our beautiful and useful gravel walks and grass plats"; Child, 20v, St. Annaland's gardens; Woodstock, 180v; Taylor (1707), 92; cf. also Mountague, 44-45, and Bowrey, 50-51: "The gardens consist of many fine rows of sycamores, yews and other trees cut very handsomely, good grass walks and some sandy walks, a fine greenhouse in the form of a half amphitheatre and handsomely built, before which is very fine yew trees and hedges with fine orange and bay trees etc. finely set out. There is also a grotto set curiously with shells, rock coral and looking-glasses and in it a fountain. There is another shell house with water springing out of the floor"; Chiswell, as quoted in Bowrey, 51; cf. Neville, 34: "The house is a stable and has but one thing tolerable and that is a bath which is very neat."

⁵⁸ On many of these houses, cf. Hunt and De Jong; Van Raaij and Spies; Middachten, Southwell, 57-58, thought it a pity so much useful space was lost because of the central hall with the staircase; cf. Talman, 1698, Diary, 7-8, gives a brief description and a plan; De Voorst, Southwell, 54-55: "It is said the whole project will cost 250,000 guilders"; Harris, 58, the gardens were "made after the greatest models with terraces, walks, fountains, cascades, canals etc."; Farrington, 251-53, particularly admired the *écritoire* in the small cabinet where William III used to sleep after dinner, which had cost £40,000; it was too wet to walk in the gardens; Compton, 5v: "It being one of the best and completely furnished houses that ever I see [...] There had been very good waterworks, but immediately upon the King's death [...]"; Rosendaal, Farrington, 247-49; Vianen, cf. Browne, n. 166; 170; Heemstede, cf. Gothein, II, 227; Anon. 1699, 7; Leake, 24r: "The house [...] is antique [...] Its apartments are rather convenient than magnificent and the chief thing it has to boast of is its gardens, in which are a fine orangery, waterworks and vistas of a prodigious length"; Isham, R, II, 24: "What I think exceeds the gardens is the wilderness over against them, which affords great variety of walks and trees"; Anon. 1712, 8v-9r; Zeist, Drake (1710), 14; Anon. 1699, 7; cf. Anon. 1712, 9v.

⁵⁹ Isham, 35: "Dieren is a house that belonged to the King, to the old part of which he added some new; it is situated in a fine wood and is built round a court"; Farrington, 249; Shaw, 11; Southwell, 53-54; Soestdijk, Mountague, 201-02: "Excellent painting of game of all kinds on the walls and ceilings [...] A park of 6 English miles about, 500 head of deer"; Talman, 1698, Diary, 3-4: "The house is large and of brick, the front is in a straight line and in the middle between the windows is adorned with brick pilasters; one ascends to the first storey by a flight of stone steps; the house a-top is flat after the Italian mode; it promises more by its outside than is to be found within."

⁶⁰ Fraser, 99r, says the house belonged to the Prince of Orange, he calls it Loo, which was nearby but did not belong to the Prince; Pepys, 147; Style, 28: "in this palace there is as many windows as days in the year"; Mountague, 43; Nicolson, 4v; cf. Bowrey, 49-50: "When the candles are lighted it must be a great advancement to the beauty of the room"; Farrington, 17-20; the painting is by Theodoor van Thulden; cf. also Taylor (1707), 90-91; Brereton, 31-32; cf. Hope, 166; Skippon, 394; Moody, 37; Evelyn, 41; Mountague, 68. "good gardens but neglected"; 3 ways, Farrington, 25; Thornhill, 46; cf. Anon. 1711, 4: "They show you the manner of the Treaty there upon the peace."

⁶¹ Mountague, 52; inn, Isham, 16; Bowrey, 55; Evelyn, 56: "in truth a very magnificent cloistered and quadrangular building"; Vernon, 254; Taylor (1707), 95; paintings mentioned by Northleigh, 705; Skippon, 393; Thornhill, 38; quotation, Anon. 1699, 3-4; Leake, 27v-28r: "one of the galleries is filled with pieces of the royal family of the Stuarts [...] Mary, late Princess of Orange took the pains to japan a closet in her apartment in this house, which indeed is very fine and uncommon work. The gardens were the most agreeable to me of any I saw in Holland, though they have been very considerably pillaged since they came into the King of Prussia's hands [...] In short the whole seems to be well planted but is tending apace to ruin for want of a proper inhabitant"; Queen's room, quotation, Bowrey, 55; cf. Northleigh, 705: "most curiously wainscoted with most exquisite Japan work"; Mountague, 52; Isham, 16-17: "I saw in an enclosed place West and East Indian deer, a bull and cows of the same country and in another place an animal called a momet"; Taylor (1707), 94; Thornhill, 47: "The greenhouse is 350 foot long and 24 foot wide; has 4 iron stoves [...] 4 very large stables with 31 stalls in each stable"; Northleigh, 705: "some antique [statues] as the Roman gladiator, Samson tearing the lion and several others"; Farrington, 267.

⁶² Mountague, 51: "[...] wherein you have stags, wild boars, foxes and hares in great plenty"; Shaw, 10: "[...] In the front are apartments and in the wings the offices and stables proper and convenient; but by the size, magnificence and pride it seems designed more for the Prince of Orange [...]"; Talman, 1697, Journal, 1: "The entrance into the court is but indifferent, the two sides of the court being joined by a silly sort of ironwork instead of a portico of marble pillars or some other ornament suitable to the majesty and dignity of a king or great prince"; Mrs. Burnet, 133r; Farrington, 255-59; 257, library: "a very good collection of books in English, Dutch, French, Italian etc. Several political tracts, treaties of peace alliances and the like and amongst the rest the sermon of that great and good man the late Archbishop Dr. S. Tillotson against evil-speaking, which he presented to her Majesty. A very fine Japan desk with silver hinges edged and tipped with silver, a fine large and velvet chair, a fine pair of globes; on the ceiling an oval looking-glass"; Anon. 1699, 11; Southwell, 52.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS MADE BY TRAVELLERS

INTRODUCTION

As pointed out in Chapter 1, tourists (or writers of travel guides) often concluded their work with general observations, which usually come after the descriptions of the cities. This chapter is largely based on these observations, although occasional remarks by tourists bearing on the same subjects have been included as well, together with descriptions of sights, as for instance (in the sections on laws and the administration of justice) the account of the Judgement Hall in the *stadhuis* of Amsterdam. As in the previous chapters, we shall limit ourselves to presenting facts and opinions as they were expressed by the tourists, and not compare them systematically with other sources of information about seventeenth-century Holland, which may or may not agree with them. The various themes have been arranged, as much as possible, in the order which was followed by our travellers.¹

Fynes Moryson, whose observations are the most extensive of our seventeenth-century tourists, starts with a geographical description which includes comments on the country's situation, its products, trade, and the diet and dress of the inhabitants. This is followed by a survey of the history of the Netherlands up to the time of Prince Maurice, who was stadholder at the time Moryson's book was published in 1617. After remarks on the government of the Union and the individual provinces and the towns, there is a discussion of the state's revenues, in particular the taxes. Moryson then deals with aspects of civil and criminal law, considers the army and the navy, and concludes his book with comments and speculations on Anglo-Dutch relations in the past, present and the future. In the chapters which remained unpublished during his lifetime, he dealt with the people and their customs, particularly religion, the nature and manners of the people, arts and sciences, learning, popular customs in connection with marriage, funerals, christenings and the childbed, and finally pastimes.²

Similar observations dating from the first half of the century are *The Politia of the United Provinces* (c.1625) and essays by Overbury (1626), Howell (1645) and Reresby (1657), who all dealt with the following subjects: history (or geography, in *The Politia*), government (Overbury included some remarks on the laws), the army and Prince Maurice (Maurice is omitted in Overbury), Holland's wealth and trade, religion (only in *The Politia*) and the customs of the people. The same subjects were dealt with by Sir William Temple, at one time ambassador in The Hague, who concluded his *Observations* (1672) not with the traditional remarks on the inhabitants, but with something far more topical: the causes of the fall of the Republic in 1672. After this very popular book, few others who published their work included the essay (Veryard did). Carr's general observations (which make up two-thirds of his guidebook and are exemplified by many anecdotes) are mainly on economic subjects: the East-India Company, taxes, fraud laws, the banks in Amsterdam, but also on the Admiralty, charity, religion, entertainment, the change in manners and the French invasion of 1672. As we have seen above, many others concentrated on the customs of the people.³

HISTORY

Before 1550

Remarks about very early history are usually occasioned by a small number of the sights. In their descriptions of cities scholarly tourists were inclined to go back into the past as far as possible and add all sorts of learned details: Coryat for example, said that Nijmegen was "built about 582 years before the incarnation of Christ, by the ancient Sicambri" and that its castle had been constructed by Charlemagne. The Earl of Perth was told that the castle was much older than that, being the work of Julius Caesar; however, not being a scholar he described the place as "a vile ancient hole". Traces of another Roman castle could be found on the beach at Katwijk, near Leiden: this was Arx Britannicum, built by Caligula. In Leiden itself the Burcht, a fortified mount in the centre of the town, was said to date from the fifth century A.D. and to be the work of the Saxon Hengist.⁴

The foundation of St. Mary's church in Utrecht in 1099 is an event about which travellers frequently come up with an anecdote. On one of its pillars could be seen a "picture of a bull plowing up the waves

with his horns" with a Latin inscription stating (in Moryson's translation):

Posterity hear this and to your children tell
Bull hides bear up this pillar from the lowest hell.

Veryard briefly told what had happened:

The tradition goes that the workmen, having not been able to build it on piles like the rest, laid the foundation on ox-hides, by the advice of a child, who was killed by his own father for discovering the secret, because he [i.e. the father] had been denied the recompense he asked to undertake it.⁵

Another anecdote is told about Haarlem, where in the great church tourists saw three ship's models which, together with two little bells in the tower, were in memory of the 1217-1219 crusade. Lord Fitzwilliam wrote:

We remarked a ship hanging in this church, with a saw on the bottom of it, which in sailing cut a chain in pieces, which was extended between two castles for to hinder ships of entering the haven. This was done by them of Haarlem helping Frederic Barbarossa against the Saracens at the town called Pelusium, now Damietta, situated in the furthest part of Egypt. By this stratagem the town was taken. Every year the 2nd of January the children of this town celebrate the memory hereof, in carrying ships with saws on the bottom round about the town. Here are likewise two Damietta bells, which prove this story.

William Nicolson, for whom this was new, commented: "It was an ingenious invention and the historians that write of the holy war are very uncivil not to take notice of it." He clearly did not have confidence in the Dutch scholars Boxhorn and Scriverius, who had possibly attributed more glorious deeds to their countrymen than these were entitled to.⁶

The most frequently quoted historical anecdote was that of the miracle of Loosduinen near The Hague. In 1276 Margaret, Countess of Hennenberg was buried here "who brought forth as many children at one birth as there are days in the year". In the church Ellis Veryard M.D. saw "two brass basins in which they are said to have been baptised, and a long Latin inscription containing the history [...] All the sons [were] called John and the daughters Elizabeth; who together with their mother died on the same day and were all buried in one grave". Thomas Denne reported that it was

written upon the wall, that a poor woman coming to ask alms of the aforesaid countess with twins in her arms, the countess said she could not have them honestly; whereat the poor woman wished she might have as many children at a birth as there are days in the year, which came to pass. The sexton's wife told us besides, that her house sank into the ground.⁷

Several travelling doctors, amongst whom Veryard, judged that the miracle might well have happened. Yonge checked it with seven authorities who had taken it seriously, including Sir Thomas Browne and John Ray. Moryson, however, who had not studied old medical books, noted in the margin: "this year fell in a lying and superstitious age." At the end of the century most tourists shared his view and their principal concern was to get a correct copy of the inscription, although Blainville could not resist the temptation of making fun of Misson (like himself a tutor to wealthy young men making the grand tour), who in his immensely popular book had seemed to give credit to the story. Dr. Northleigh neither trusted the inscription (that had been tampered with) nor the story, clearly "a relic of the popish legend", and Joseph Shaw, a lawyer, taking the whole thing as a joke wrote: "I am glad that in this country there's liberty of faith."⁸

A less controversial event was the storm of 1421, during which large parts of Holland and Zeeland had been flooded. It was said that as many as 72 towns and villages between Dordrecht and Geertruidenberg had disappeared under the waves and that 100,000 people had been drowned. Isham tells the following anecdote:

a little infant [...] was most miraculously carried to the city in a cradle and a cat that swam there; others say the cat was in the cradle and balanced it, going from one side to the other.

The invention of printing (c.1450), attributed to Laurens Janszoon Coster of Haarlem, was also frequently mentioned and sometimes called into question. Finally there are references to the birth of Erasmus at Rotterdam in 1467 and to the revolutionary Anabaptists, who in 1535 had tried to take Amsterdam by surprise. They were generally seen as infamous characters, particularly John of Leyden, who became "King" of Münster in 1534, and the self-proclaimed Messiah, David George, a native of Delft according to Guicciardini, who also mentioned the others in his guidebook.⁹

The beginnings of the United Provinces

Many tourists describe in essay form how in the final years of the sixteenth century the seven northern provinces had developed into an independent union of states. Leake copied long passages from Dutch, French, English and Italian writers. Fynes Moryson, who does not often identify his sources wrote:

Low Germany, called of old Belgia, [...] by little and little grew into one body, and in our days through civil war became divided into two parts, the one of divers provinces united for defence of their liberty, the other of the rest remaining under the obedience of their Prince.

He and James Howell relate how the seventeen provinces had been brought together under the House of Burgundy and later under that of Austria. "The Emperor Charles V happily governed these provinces with great judgement, handling the people gently", but his son Philip broke all the promises he had made on his accession in 1555. Howell reports that he did this "by the counsel of cardinal Granvelle, who, as the States' Chronicler writes, was the first firebrand that kindled that lamentable and longsome war wherein the Netherlands have traded above fifty years in blood". Howell then filled in the particulars about the inquisition, the duke of Alva, the subsequent Spanish governors, William of Orange and Queen Elizabeth, who "partly for her own security, partly for interest in religion, reached them a supporting hand". Skippon only mentioned the most important dates: 1555, Charles V resigns; 1572, the States of Holland declare war on the Duke of Alva; 1576, all 17 provinces united against the Spaniards; 1579, Union of Utrecht between 7 provinces (the United Provinces); 1581, solemn declaration that Philip II "had forfeited his government". Howell ended his historical survey in 1609, at the beginning of the 12 years' truce, on which occasion Spain recognized the United Provinces as Free States.¹⁰

Travellers frequently refer to some of the more memorable events of this war of independence. In 1572 Den Briel was the first city the Spaniards lost to the insurgents, who according to Grey Neville, had been greatly assisted by good fortune. This success "drew the other towns of the Netherlands into a general revolt". Because of its strategic position at the mouth of the river Maas, this city was later "made cautionary to Queen Elizabeth together with Rammekens" and Flushing, which commanded the seaway to Antwerp. Howell tells how in 1616 the British garrisons left and the towns were returned to the States.¹¹

When Moryson visited Haarlem in 1592, the war in this part of the country was already part of history, but there were still traces of the damage caused during the memorable siege of 1573, especially in the wood south of the town, where the Spaniards had camped. It was only in the 1680s, after Carr had mentioned it in his guidebook, that tourists began to notice the cannon balls, dating from the siege, in the walls of the great church. When the town surrendered no mercy was shown towards the garrison, many of whom were English. "The historians witness that 300 were beheaded and more than 200 drowned in the lake called Haarlemmermeer." Isham and Veryard saw the swords with which the executions had been carried out. Veryard must have got his information mixed up, in view of his claim that "500 soldiers were beheaded [...] for keeping private intelligence with the Duke of Alva to betray the city". Still the way he described the spirit in which the citizens of Haarlem had defended themselves was in full agreement with traditional sources:

In defiance of the besiegers, they executed all their prisoners on the ramparts of the town, burnt an infinity of crosses, images and pictures in sight of the enemy, and women appeared armed on the walls, leading on companies to defend the breaches.¹²

The equally famous siege of Leiden was commemorated every year on the third of October with theatrical shows representing "the actions and cruelties" which had taken place in 1574. Neville wrote:

This town was besieged by the Spaniards and almost famished, so as to live upon rats, mice, horses etc. till their friends broke down a digue and drowned out part of the besiegers and conveyed boats full of provision into the town; and by these means the town was saved. Every year they have a thanksgiving, which is very strictly observed.

In Amsterdam Thomas Penson saw a play commemorating the events of 1574. The delivery had been miraculous, for in the night after the flooding of the countryside, part of the ramparts had collapsed making a lot of noise. Nobody would have been able to stop the Spaniards entering the town but, according to Brereton, they panicked and broke off the siege.¹³

After Prince William of Orange, who had given Leiden a university for the brave resistance it had put up, had been murdered at Delft by a Catholic extremist in 1584, his house (an old convent) soon became a tourist attraction. Only six years after the murder John Skene was

shown the place where it had happened. Brereton wrote: "After the bullet went through his body, it glazed and made impression on the ceiling, yet to be seen." Denne, who only spent two hours at Delft, visited the stadhuis, where he saw a large painting from which he concluded that the prince had been stabbed in the belly. He was also wrong in asserting that the murderer "escaped, so that it was never known who set him on work". William Mountague gave the story in great detail:

Here was that brave prince assassinated in the 51st year of his age, being shot by a pistol with three bullets as he rose from the table, by one Balthazar Gerrard, a Burgundian, so that he died without having time to say any more than: "Lord have mercy on my soul and this poor people." The murderer pretended to be a Protestant and son of one who had suffered for his religion; by which he insinuated himself into the prince's favour, who employed and entrusted him in business of importance. The villain never offered to get off, but was taken and pinched to death with hot irons, his flesh being first slashed with a knife and so, piece by piece torn off with hot pincers. He died obstinate and said if it were to do again, he would do it.¹⁴

William's son Maurice, who had been appointed stadholder on his father's death, appeared to be a very able general. In 1590 an original strategem proved successful and the Stadholder managed to take Breda, an important town in Brabant. Robert Moody recorded the story as follows:

In Holland the most of their firing is turf and sometimes they bring them into the towns in prodigious great barges. In such a one there was put in the bottom 200 stout, well-armed men, covered over with turf and this barge was brought into the town in the daytime, without the least suspicion; and about one o'clock after midnight they broke all out on a sudden, killed the sentries and some of the guards that resisted, so in an hour's time made themselves masters of that important garrison with little bloodshed.¹⁵

Historic events of the seventeenth century

When the war was temporarily stopped in 1609, serious difficulties broke out within the Dutch Reformed Church and in 1618-19 a synod was held "to determine the controversies between the Gomarists or Contra-Remonstrants and the Remonstrants or Arminians, about predestination; which then made a mighty noise in the world". Sir

Francis Child briefly went into its political background: the religious quarrel had coincided with the struggle for power between Pensionary Oldenbarnevelt and Prince Maurice, "who aimed at the sovereignty of these provinces". According to Fitzwilliam "the famous synod against the poor Arminians [...] did little good and finished very soon". It must have been difficult for tourists who visited the inn where the synod had met, to imagine what the place looked like when it was filled with grave divines in 1618. John Berry describes "a fair upper room", in which besides "a very fair piece of the Passion" there was "a draught of most of the chief men of Dordt". However, only the faces had been finished, the remainder was only "the first ground of the painter", to whom the States had refused to pay the full price. The roof of the inn was surmounted with a turret from which Robert Bargrave and his friends "enjoyed the prospect". He wrote: here "as if the wine good fellows drink were not enough to turn round their brains, there is a moving form, which turns a whole company quite round the banqueting table, as they all sit at it".¹⁶

Only a limited number of later events are mentioned with the same regularity, probably because they had not yet found their way into guidebooks. One such event is the embarkation of Charles II at Scheveningen in 1660, "to take possession of his three crowns from which he had been long kept by the usurper Oliver Cromwell". Another is the death of the Dutch admiral Tromp "in an engagement with the Duke of York". James Fraser saw his tomb at Delft and remarked:

He was killed in that terrible and bloody encounter and fight at sea betwixt the English and Dutch, April 3, 1653, wherein their fleet was worsted and their famous general fell and was enterred here, in the place of his nativity in great state the following September 1, becoming so great a captain, the honour and defence of his country, in which he nobly fell. A person of great affection to the family and person of our King and very much an Englishman, but his nativity. Of such an interest in that war, that with him it began and with him it expired, he being the soul that actuated it throughout. I will say no more but deposit its history and record herein his glorious urn.¹⁷

Many tourists mention the war of 1672, particularly the attack by the French, who occupied large parts of the States' territories. A student refers to the atrocities committed at Woerden and Bodegraven. Edward Browne wrote in his book: "Louis XIV, King of France came down with so powerful an army into the Low Countries, that in that

summer's expedition he took thirty walled towns and cities." Maas-tricht and Den Bosch soon fell, Nijmegen put up a brave resistance but the citizens of Utrecht became frightened and earned themselves the nickname of Key-carriers by offering the keys to Louis when he was still at a considerable distance. An anonymous tourist later wrote: "The strength of the walls and the courage of the inhabitants may be learned from their hasty sending their keys above a day's journey, to the King of France." Fortunately William III "new-modelled the States' armies and from raw inexperienced and undisciplined soldiers, and bad officers [...] made them very formidable to their enemies, and snatched the laurels from the greatest generals of the age".¹⁸

When Louis was making his conquests and threatened the province of Holland itself, its pensionary Johan de Witt and his brother were lynched at The Hague. "The populace rose and cut them both in pieces, without suffering them to speak one word for themselves. They always opposed the interest of the House of Orange, which was the true interest of their state, to which they were believed to be enemies." Shaw philosophically referred to the incident as a "barbarous example [of] what it is to fall beneath the fury of an enraged populace", but Veryard provided all the gory details:

Both their bodies being stripped naked, were dragged out of town and hung up by the legs at the common gallows, where their bowels were pulled out and their limbs minced into a thousand pieces, everyone present endeavouring to get his share; some got a finger some a toe and others a piece of their flesh, which they preserved in oil and spirit of wine as trophies of their matchless vengeance. Nay, divers of them were sold at incredible rates to others, who took a more than ordinary pride in showing some part of these great men, whom they called traitors; but how justly I shall not determine.

William Brockman gave a detailed description of a gold medal representing the two brothers, and Justinian Isham later saw one of Johan de Witt's fingers in the collection of Mr. Altenus, "an Arminian minister" at Utrecht.¹⁹

When William Nicolson visited Nijmegen in 1678, he was less impressed by the fact that the town might possibly have been *Oppidum Batavorum*, mentioned by Tacitus, than by the circumstance that for three years it had been the scene of peace negotiations between the French and the Dutch with their allies. Later travellers saw Sir William Temple's portrait in the town hall, together with those of the other

diplomats who had taken part in the conference. Copies of the paintings decorated the walls of the inn where John Farrington lodged.²⁰

The treaty of Nijmegen later turned out to be only one of a series in which Dutch, British, French and German diplomats came together to try to settle international problems. As the French kept up their military pressure in the Spanish Netherlands, neither the treaties of Nijmegen (1678) nor Rijswijk (1697) yielded a lasting solution; this was only reached at Utrecht in 1713. For tourists, these prolonged peace conferences were social events of great importance, although not everyone was impressed by the work of the diplomats: "most of the time is spent in rising and going to bed." Walter Plumer, secretary to the Hon. Thomas Harley, described the daily routine: "After dinner a turn to a coffee house; billiard table or some such place till towards five, when a Dutch comedy or assembly entertains us till eight and makes us miss prayers at seven." The large number of men gave unexpected opportunities to even "the very old women [...] I see every day such things pass as convince me hungry dogs etc.". The majority of tourists' comments concern the conference held in the Prince of Orange's house at Rijswijk in 1697. Sir Francis Child reports what The Hague looked like at that time:

The Hague, though always filled with gay inhabitants, never appeared in as splendid a figure as at the last treaty of peace at Rijswijk, for all the ambassadors who assisted at it resided here, excepting the French, who lived at Delft. One could hardly pass a street without meeting a Plenipotentiary with an equipage of 12 pages, 30 footmen and perhaps with a couple of fellows with grim countenance, called Heydukes. They every night came to the Voorhout, where everyone endeavoured to be the most admired for richness of liveries and number of footmen, and sometimes the French would come to this rendezvous of fine fellows with finer coats.²¹

GOVERNMENT

Government of the cities, provinces and the Union

A discussion of the system of government of the cities, the provinces and the country as a whole, is an essential element of general observations. John Farrington made some remarks on the government of Friesland, which according to him was very much like that of England, but most travellers' comments deal with Holland. Here the

cities were governed by their senates, called the vroedschap, which commonly consisted of 20 to 40 members; Rotterdam had 24, Delft had 44 and Amsterdam 36. Sir Philip Skippon wrote: "The vroetscap continue for life, and when one dies they elect another one of the citizens." Once a year this college chose out of their midst two or more burgomasters (consuls) or proposed a certain number for this office to the stadholder, in Holland the Prince of Orange, who made the appointments. These "chief magistrates" ("equivalent to our bailiffs of cities"), were not attended by a host of servants as in England, but went about their business like ordinary citizens and had only a small "allowance from the city for the loss of their time from trading". One of their jobs was the nomination of the schepenen (eschevins, scabini): five, seven or nine men "well versed in the laws" who served as judges. Thus the cities were in fact ruled by burgomasters and schepe-nen. Two important subordinate officials were the schout, who acted as quaestor, accusing "criminals before the eschevins" and the "pensioner, assessor or syndic", also a legal expert, whose job was like that of a "recorder in England, whom the vroedschap consult with".²²

The States of Holland, which were mainly composed of representatives of the cities (the nobility [ridderschap] had only one of the 19 votes), met at The Hague; those of the other provinces in their own capital. Delegates to these provincial assemblies were "chosen by the people of each city [...], not for a limited time, but during pleasure". John Northleigh points out that these deputies (usually a burgomaster and the pensioner) were originally elected by the freemen, but later "the Dutch mob being found too turbulent", by the city councils. As the full States Provincial only met four times a year, daily business was looked after by a permanent council, presided over by the pensioner or advocate of the province. In matters of importance, the delegates could not vote without first asking for instructions from their towns, which rendered the decision-making process very slow. As we have seen, the stadholder or governor had important prerogatives with regard to the nomination of officials in the cities. William III (b. 1650), who at the time of Reresby's visit (1657) had "little authority", was appointed stadholder and captain general of the army at the outbreak of the war in 1672 and in time he accumulated far more powers than any of his predecessors in the office.²³

James Howell stresses the fact that in essence the government of the United Provinces had remained what it was before the rising against Philip II, except for the fact that there was no longer a Duke or an

Earl. Each of the seven provinces was represented in the States General, "the Illustrious and High and Mighty", which only on very special occasions consisted of large numbers of deputies (as e.g. the "800 and odd" who met at Bergen op Zoom to conclude the truce with Spain in 1608-09). Usually their number did not exceed 30, so there was sufficient room around the long table in their fine meeting hall in The Hague, where according to Joseph Taylor there were 24 chairs and "in the middle a great one for the president and opposite against it [...] one for an ambassador, and at the upper end a chair for the Stadholder". The presidency was held for a week by each province in turn. Votes were taken per province, not per head, and for important matters unanimity was required. However, "the absolute authority" remained with the states of each province and the States General only embodied "the dignity of their republic". Thus deputies of the provinces frequently travelled between The Hague and their respective capitals for instructions. If necessary, meetings were adjourned but sometimes this was done on purpose "to protract time".²⁴

Travellers also mention the Council of State and the Chamber of Accounts (according to Shaw the treasury), both subordinate to the States General. Sir Thomas Overbury saw the former as the permanent commission of the States General, which dealt with "daily occasions". Shaw thought it was "somewhat like the Privy Council", as it gave advice to the States General and executed their resolutions. Sir John Reresby says its main tasks were war and finance. This council, whose exact relationship to the States General is described with great clarity by Sir William Temple, comprised twelve delegates from the provinces, as well as the stadholder and (until 1627) the English ambassador. According to Overbury the Pensioner of Holland, at that time Oldenbarnevelt, was "the most potent" in this council, of which he was strictly speaking not a member.²⁵

In their efforts to describe the republic, travellers do not always use the same terminology. According to Moryson the "commonwealth [was] aristocratical (that is of the best men), save that the people choose the great senate, which rules all". Reresby recorded that it was "partly aristocratical and partly democratical [...] the nobility and commonalty [...] holding the whole sovereignty". Overbury had the impression that the ordinary people had far more influence than the nobility (*ridderschap*), who were only called to the assemblies "for order's sake":

The State indeed is democratical, the merchant and the tradesman being predominant.

Veryard agreed with him, but Temple concluded that they, like most other travellers were wrong. The government of Holland was "a sort of Oligarchy and very different from a popular government, as it is generally esteemed by those who passing or living in these countries, content themselves with common observations and inquiries". This is corroborated by the diplomat Laurence Hyde, who in 1677 was told by a Dutchman that the country "was now no more a commonwealth than he was a maid". Hyde's spokesman was particularly well informed: he had been a member of the Rotterdam city council before he was removed by William III. John Leake, who does not mention Temple among the many authorities he had read on the subject, was of the same opinion:

Whoever would define the Dutch government must call it an Absolute Oligarchy. The lowest wheel in their State is the polity of their cities; whence deputies are sent to their provincial assemblies, and thence to the Council of State and States General. The whole mass of power circulates perpetually within this compass; and the people are wholly excluded by an edict made about 150 years ago when all popular elections ceased and with them the very shadow of a commonwealth.²⁶

Army and navy

Travellers who saw the strong fortifications on the frontier towns, from Groningen in the north-east to Maastricht and Bergen op Zoom in the south and south-west, were usually impressed by the military power of the Dutch. Those who went into detail about the strength of the army came up with varying figures, which is hardly surprising in view of the fact that our period extends for more than a century. Ellis Veryard (publ. 1701) wrote: "In time of war they keep about 60,000 men in the field and 30,000 in garrisons; at other times they have not above 60,000 in pay both by land and sea." As no citizen of the United Provinces could be pressed to serve in the army, it was mainly composed of "mercenary soldiers", Walloons, Germans, English and Scots. Overbury reports: "The watches at night are never all of one nation, so that they can hardly concur to give up any one town. The commissaries are nowhere so strict upon musters, and where he finds a company, thither he reduces them, so that when an army marches, the list and the poll are never far disagreeing." According to the English ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton the soldiers were

the servants of the state: even the commander in chief was not free to act at his own discretion. He was always subject to the States General and received "daily commands what to do". Soldiers who misbehaved were severely punished. Once a man who had stolen a hat from an enemy who had surrendered was hanged "for this small insolence". On the other hand it was said that pay was always on time, food and drink in camp were not subject to excise and for those who had received serious injuries there were pensions and military hospitals.²⁷

In the 1680s and 1690s many tourists visited the army in Flanders or went to see military reviews in Gelderland on the Veluwe or on the open heath south of Nijmegen. In the summer of 1686 so many people (among them John Erskine, Lord George Douglas and the Earl of Orrery) wanted to cross the river at Nijmegen that those in carriages had to wait a considerable time. Joseph Shaw, who was with the King himself, was quite pleased with the show and the soldiers: "An honest sobriety reigned among them." "Lord Albemarle's regiment of horse" made the best impression on the "numerous spectators". As an Englishman, Shaw felt reassured by the "peaceable heaviness" on the soldiers' faces, which showed that they were more intent on defence than on attack. "Mock fights" formed part of the programme; John Erskine gave a description of a cavalry charge. John Talman, a student at Leiden, reports extensively on "an encampment of 25,000 men, horse and foot", which he saw on the Mookerheide. This army included "6 regiments of Scotch":

The camp was in two lines; between every regiment was left a lane; every regiment was eight tents deep or thereabouts, and something more in front; behind each regiment was a line of Lieutenants' and ensigns' tents; behind them were fixed the pavillions of the higher commanders as colonels etc.; at the front of each regiment were the sergeants' tents in a line immediately before the common soldiers' tents; before each sergeant's tent stood his halberd fixed in the ground; a little distance before these were the arms; the pikes were set one against another in form of a pyramid, the musquets were set against a stake and covered with a case made for the purpose; before them were fixed in the ground little flags in which were signified to whom each regiment did belong; at some distance from each regiment lay the watch, consisting of 4 or 5 tents; at each end of the infantry were the cavalry; the order of the tents was much the same with those of the infantry, only behind each line of tents (I mean athwart, not parallel with the front), were the horse. The camp was not entrenched, there being no great apprehension of an enemy.²⁸

The navy was a complicated organization, made up of five admiralties. Each had an obligation to provide a certain number of ships but it often happened that Amsterdam helped its poorer neighbours: Zeeland, the Maas (Rotterdam), West-Friesland and Friesland. According to Moryson, Amsterdam alone commanded one hundred men of war, to which could be added 400 armed merchantmen. In Veryard's time, ships had become larger and his remark concerns the size of the whole navy of the United Provinces: "The greatest fleet they have been known to set to sea consisted of 120 ships of all rates, of which a good part were small frigates." Even at the end of the century, ships carrying more than 80 guns were rare, but they were built without unnecessary ornaments and "very strong and fit for service", as people in the Royal Navy knew only too well.²⁹

Some travellers remarked that the Dutch had one important advantage over the British as far as the navy was concerned. This was that only capable seamen could be appointed officers. All soldiers and sailors were volunteers and made sure they took service under a captain who took care to look properly after the ship's provisions. To incite sailors to do their best, a noticeboard near the foremast of each ship set out the various rewards that could be won for taking or sinking enemy ships; it also stated what pensions were available for the various types of injuries suffered.³⁰

Laws and the administration of Justice

Sometimes things seen by tourists on their walks through the towns gave rise to remarks on the administration of justice. Along the canals in Amsterdam there were apparently notices with illustrations of the punishments vandals could expect if they damaged trees. An iron cage against one of the walls of the stadhuis in The Hague served to expose offenders "to the grin of the mob" and in Middelburg there were even two of these cages. Joseph Taylor wrote that they "were fixed upon pins, to turn round. In one they kept an eagle; in the other they put scolding women, turning them about as fast as they can, which is a punishment answerable to our ducking stool in England". Inside the town halls, odd instruments used in the administering of punishment were pointed out by tourist guides. In Nijmegen, unfaithful women were paraded through the streets wearing "two large round balls hanging down about her neck"; adulterers had to wear a tub over their shoulders "like a petticoat". According to John Farrington these had been used as late as the 1680s. Sir William Brereton describes a similar

tub, which was on show at Delft: "It is very heavy and they [i.e. the offenders] moving, it knocks and breaks their chins."³¹

Punishment of crime appears to have interested tourists more than other aspects of the Dutch legal system, although Brereton mentioned the practical difficulties of appealing to the High Court at The Hague. He also relates how controversies about business deals were arbitrated at an inn in Delft, which involved a liberal amount of drinking. William Nicolson mentions a strange custom at Amsterdam: tenants of property belonging to the city could have the doors of their houses removed if they failed to pay their rents in time. Fynes Moryson touches upon far more aspects of Dutch law than anybody else. He discusses money-lending (pawnshops) and inheritances, particularly the fact that sons could not be disinherited and that one half of the estate of a couple dying without children returned to the woman's relatives if she so desired. However, he too deals at length with criminal law, stating what legal consequences might ensue if a man injured another in a fight, and discussing capital punishment in some detail. This sanction obtained for a large number of crimes: manslaughter, murder, coining, arson and theft:

Thieves and pirates are put to death by hanging and [...] they never pardon pirates upon any intercession, as destroyers of traffic upon which their commonwealth and private estates depend.

According to Thomas Bowrey "no women [were] executed for stealing".³²

Murderers in Holland were "put to death with more or less torment", depending on the seriousness of the crime, and in some cases "exquisite punishments and torments", as Moryson put it, were inflicted on malefactors. Occasionally torture was used to extort confessions (notwithstanding Moryson's conviction that this never happened). When in 1686 an English skipper, whose passengers had disappeared during the crossing of the North Sea, was put on the rack at Dordt, the British consul was asked by his countrymen to protest against this "inhumane way of proceeding". In the same year the medical student Thomas Molyneux wrote: "This sort of punishment (though a very unreasonable one) still prevails here, as a relic I suppose, of the Spanish government and justice. It is always done privately, in a dungeon, none being present but the Lords of the town."³³

Moryson reports that many of those condemned to death, particularly murderers, escaped punishment by running away, which was

relatively easy. He explained why: "No man will apprehend any malefactor nor hinder his flight, but rather think it a point of humanity to help him." As a rule criminals were tried soon after their arrest, but those who had run away to escape punishment were free to return to their cities whenever there was a "kermis". A student at Utrecht wrote:

During a stated number of days any are permitted to come into the town, without molestation, that have been banished the town or voluntarily have left it upon the account of any crime; at the end of which time there is a bell rung to give notice that the time is expired.

However, one day a man was seized who "was got so drunk that he did not take care to retire before the ringing of the bell". He was "taken and carried to prison and soon after was executed for the crime he had committed eight or ten years before".³⁴

Most of the above information on the administration of justice was based on reading or hearsay. Tourists do not report actually witnessing people being punished in some old-fashioned way, but they did see the prisons where beggars and other convicts served their sentences, the men in the Rasphouse, the women in the Spinhouse. Inmates were expected to earn enough money to pay for their keep and if the house made a profit it was made available to other institutions like orphanages or old people's homes. Prisoners who did not work were charged for their forced residence, just as debtors were only taken into confinement if the creditor paid for it. Usually decent lodgings were provided, and in Amsterdam there was a debtors' prison at the stad-huis, where one of Justinian Isham's acquaintances "was in a little chamber with another". The only inconvenience was that the visitor "could only speak to him through grates".³⁵

However, there were also prisons that were never shown to tourists, where conditions were far from ideal. The Quaker William Caton, who had been arrested in Middelburg, possibly because on another occasion he had caused a riot near the English church there, spent two awful weeks incarcerated on board a man-of-war. James Yonge was locked up in the Admiralty building at Rotterdam, where life was pretty harsh. There was not enough food for the prisoners of war, there were vermin and a terrible stench, and several of his comrades died of fever. On his release he was presented with the bill: "14 guilders (that is 28 shillings) for the turning the key, and 5 stuivers per diem for every day I had been prisoner."³⁶

Tourists who visited the houses of correction in Amsterdam came away with very different impressions. Dr. Walter Harris believed that the “exemplary punishment” of forced labour worked as a deterrent so that in Holland fewer people than in England ended a criminal career at the hands of the executioner. The merchant Richard Chiswell agreed with him and felt the Rasphuis deserved imitation: “This way of punishment, by hard labour, strong restraint, has had much better success in the suppressing of robbery than our method of immediate execution in England.” Not everybody looked at the positive effects of the imprisonment. John Farrington felt sorry for the inmates and wrote:

There is one here, who is not above 21, that is condemned to live in a hole where he cannot lie down, but only kneel or squat and has no light but just where he receives his provisions – for the space of 40 years, which he told us was for killing a Jew when about 16 years old.

The arms-painter Thomas Penson concluded that this prison was “more dreadful than our frequent executions in England and yet but a medium between the whipping post and the gallows”.³⁷

The atmosphere in the Judgement Hall, the beautifully decorated room on the first floor of the stadhuis was in marked contrast with that prevailing in the Rasphuis. The Scottish student of divinity James Fraser noted: “Here the prisoners have [a] sermon preached to them the day before their execution and here they receive their final sentence of condemnation and which death to die.” Penson was impressed: in his description of the room he mentioned the four pillars, the upper parts of which represented

naked women (only so far as modesty permits) with drooping heads and handkerchiefs in their hands, in such apt postures for weeping, that I could almost imagine they cried aloud.

The wall “over the seats of the scout and the nine scabini” was decorated with appropriate scenes in white marble. The Judgement of Solomon occupied the central place and among the other representations were those of “Seleucus [...] on the right, who caused one of his own eyes and one of his son’s to be put out, the latter having transgressed the law against adultery; and on the left [...] Brutus, who caused his sons to be beheaded after having had them whipped at a stake, for being in a plot to restore the banished Tarquin”. From rooms on the second floor the four burgomasters could “look down into this court of justice [...] and hear the judicial proceedings”.³⁸

One traveller thought it an odd custom that criminals were always given the best available food on the day before their execution and people were equally surprised to learn that Amsterdam, the wealthiest city in Holland, did not have a hangman of its own, but had to make use of the one from Haarlem. In Amsterdam public executions (which were far less frequent than in London) usually took place on Saturdays and attracted huge crowds, though not people of the best quality. William Mountague wrote: "they were most mob, or Jean Hagel as they call them; or John Hail or Canalia or canals, sinks of filth etc.". He described the proceedings in detail. First a man was strangled, then another was beheaded, which was "very cleverly" done; meanwhile a third man was being whipped for six or seven minutes until "the magistrates (who look on out of the stadhouse windows) nodded" to the hangman's assistant to stop. Young Justinian Isham was disappointed at the executioner's skill:

I saw execution done on a scaffold before the stadhuis; the criminals coming out of one of the windows. One man was beheaded but not so cleverly as I have heard they did in this country, for he received two strokes and afterwards the skin was forced to be cut; two men were hanged, seven whipped, two of whom were burned on the back and two women whipped.

In the rough copy of his journal he added: "I have seen it since done better at Utrecht, the executioner cutting off at one stroke three men's heads one after another." Edward Browne, who witnessed a whipping at Haarlem, commented that it had been "more severe" than he had expected.³⁹

In Leiden Sir William Brereton admired the gallows, which were of stone, since this city had an executioner of its own. "Here are the daintiest curious gallows that I ever saw: three pillars of freestone neatly wrought, on which the beams are placed. Upon the top of every pillar stands a large gilded ball as big as your head." After the executions the dead bodies were usually put on wheels or hung on gallows outside the city gates "generally near some canal, as we put ours near the highway; their felons hang there till they drop down". Boatmen and fellow passengers told tourists the most lurid stories about these wretches. Brereton learned that an Englishman, "sitting" on a gibbet between Delft and The Hague, had murdered his master's only son, whom he had been supposed to look after:

He was put to a cruel death; first one leg broken by an iron mall; second the other leg; then his thighs and arms, one after another; then was given him a blow on the breast and his brains struck out.

William Fitzwilliam was told how a man at Flushing had been put to death only the day before his arrival. "First his right hand was cut off with the same knife with which he had killed the sergeants [...], afterwards half strangled and so broken upon a wheel." Several tourists relate how the murderer of William of Orange had been tortured before he was finally finished off.⁴⁰

Only a few tourists report personal involvement with crime in Holland. Penson gives a lively account of how a burglar broke into his lodgings in Rotterdam and got away with ten pounds belonging to another guest. Alexander Forrester was a victim himself; fifteen or sixteen pounds were taken from his room in Middelburg. He does not say whether he reported it to the magistrates, but from several accounts one gets the impression that they were not much interested in giving satisfaction to people who believed themselves wronged. Skippon appealed in vain to a burgomaster at Leerdam about an extravagant bill at the inn, and Brereton lost two whole days in Rotterdam trying to get compensation for a coat that had been stolen. On Thursday, a burgomaster who understood English, politely listened to his story and served a summons on the innkeeper (which cost Brereton three stuivers). On Friday, when Brereton returned, the burgomasters were "epicurizing" and he was told to come back the next day. Greatly annoyed he wrote the burgomaster a letter, which was returned to him unopened. Brereton did not pursue the matter any further but left for Delft.⁴¹

Those who had nothing to complain about, were highly impressed by the laws in Holland. Sir Thomas Overbury wrote: "Such is the equality of justice that it renders every man satisfied; such the public regularity that a man may see their laws were made to guide, not to entrap." Simon Clement was amazed to find that even gentlemen "of the highest quality" could be locked up upon the complaint of wife, children or other relatives, if it had been proved that they wasted their "estates by extravagances or ill management". He reflected: "So far does the government of this country concern itself for the preserving of the estates of families." Several others also felt that England should imitate the Dutch, particularly with regard to keeping beggars and prostitutes off the streets. The sometimes emphatic criticism of the

toleration of whores in music houses is completely outweighed by favourable comments on laws against thieves and robbers. Who had ever heard of highwaymen in the United Provinces? The conclusion Harris arrived at was:

Justice is so well distributed among them, and severely executed, that many do think a traveller may with more safety pass through all the seven provinces with his purse in his hand, by day and by night, than go ten miles out of London with money in his pocket.⁴²

Taxes

Throughout the century travellers and guidebooks commented on the numerous and heavy taxes the Dutch had to live with. In Breda people had a saying that they would not be rid of them as long as the old tower near the castle stood. "Tributes" were due on all sorts of commodities, but entertainment (including bawdy houses), transport and land also yielded money to the state. "Mountebanks, ropedancers, Bartholomew-booths pay the third penny", wrote Northleigh. Taxes on land were so high "that the whole country returns into their hands every three years". People who could think of new and easy ways of raising extra revenue, could look forward to high rewards from the state. William Carr told his readers what they would have to pay if they set up house in Amsterdam, the city which brought in as much tax money as four provinces put together. Dr. Ellis Veryard commented:

Though the people boast of their Free State, I am confident no subjects in the world are more burdened with taxes than they [...] If a man keeps a cow seven or eight years, it will in that time have paid more to the States than it is worth. I am likewise informed that there comes not a joint of meat to their tables but what has paid excise at least 18 or 20 times.⁴³

Students at university had a liberal tax-free allowance of beer and wine; soldiers in camp too, were exempt from excise on food and drink, but the ordinary people in the cities had to put up with the fact that "all manner of victuals, both meat and drink [were] very dear" and they were not even free to bake their own bread. A traveller remarked: "Not so much as a mouthful of bread can be eaten without paying a tax. For this reason no ovens are permitted in citizens' houses [...] Willy nilly you must buy at the bakers, who for this priviledge of

baking for whole towns [...] pay to be sure great sums to the magistrates." The banker Sir Francis Child wrote: "Because bread made in The Hague pays so much excise and in the villages not at all, any countryman caught bringing bread into The Hague is to stand in the pillory with loaves about his neck." Some wealthy tourists who complained about high prices admired the "great sobriety" resulting from the taxes, but few adapted their own spending. At Franeker in Friesland, an innkeeper told his guest that he contributed at least 600 guilders a year in taxes, which according to him were higher there than anywhere else. The tourist noted:

I paid here for the pint of Rhenish 16st. and he says that French wine is at 10st., which is 4st. the pint dearer than in the dearest inn in Amsterdam. It is prodigious to hear them talk of what taxes they pay, yet they pay it willingly. He told me among other things they pay for every horse yearly a rixdollar and for every servant and child above six years old half a rixdollar, so it seems there is a tax upon getting of children. I told him they were better under the King of Spain, he confessed that was true as to the taxes; for then they paid but a 20th part and now they pay half the value of many goods.

Thomas Penson observed: "If a man go into Holland and have nothing of his own, but beg for his living, the States shall get 40 or 50 guilders in a year by him" and Sir John Suckling, then a student at Leiden wrote to a friend in England: "Our very farts stand us in I know not how much excise to the States, before we let them."⁴⁴

Many travellers emphasized the fact that the Dutch always paid their taxes with a smile: "They willingly submit to such contributions as would make less considerate people mutiny and fly in the face of the government." In reality there were tax riots from time to time and Carr gives several examples of the heavy penalties inflicted on those found cheating. A wine merchant he knew, who had "the rarest Rhenish in the city", told him "that if [he] would send [his] maid to his cellar with six bottles, they should be filled. Whereupon I sent the maid only with two bottles and charged her to hide them under her apron; but such was her misfortune that the Scout's Dienaers met her and seized her and her bottles and carried her to prison, which cost the wine-merchant 1500 guilders". The exiled Scottish covenanter James Nimmo was not going to pay duties either if he could help it, and unloaded his goods from a ship at Rotterdam in the middle of the night. This deeply religious smuggler did not see much wrong in this

and must not have experienced it as an act of divine justice that he stumbled, fell into the icy waters of the Maas and was nearly drowned.⁴⁵

If the Dutch people felt unhappy about the high taxes they could comfort themselves with the reflection that much of the money raised by these “monstrous excises” was spent on the army and the navy in defence of Holland’s political freedom. Another was that the State would look after its citizens whenever they needed it. Moreover, the tax system was relatively fair; everybody was obliged to contribute in equal measure. Harris noted:

Their taxes are not like cobwebs, in which the lesser flies are usually caught, whilst the greater break through and escape. The inferior people and the rich do pay to a penny the same pound-rate in proportion to their abilities.⁴⁶

RICHES, TRADE AND CHARITY

Holland’s wealth is a recurring topic in guidebooks and travel journals. There was so much money in the country that wages were high and everything was very expensive. According to tourists instances of extreme wealth or great poverty were rare, as one of them put it: “The wealth diffuses itself here in a strange equality.” This equality did not only apply to individual citizens, it held for the towns as well. It was said that every city specialized in a particular trade or industry, and the State made sure that this situation was maintained. Dordrecht had German wines and corn, Middelburg was the “staple” of French and Spanish wines, Veere had the Scots trade, Leiden a university, Haarlem knitting and weaving and Rotterdam the English cloth. All sorts of guesses were made as to the resources of the various towns: according to Veryard there was 2,000 tun of gold in the bank at Amsterdam, and Shaw estimated the city’s revenue at four or five thousand pounds a day, which a third gentleman thought might be twice as much. Just before the war broke out in 1672, the young diplomat James Vernon wrote to secretary Williamson: “Leiden alone is thought to have a bank enough to maintain a good war [...] In The Hague [...] they are now making a cellar in the court where seven millions are to be kept for some urgent occasion.”⁴⁷

These riches were seen as the result of the ability of the Dutch to turn all kinds of activities into large sources of income. Travellers were

impressed by the fact that great public works, like the canal from Haarlem to Amsterdam or the road to Scheveningen, paid back the original investment in a matter of years and soon yielded profits, but even very small things like the *doit* boat at Rotterdam "by the Maas-gate" produced fortunes. Sir Francis Child says that it carried "passengers across the canal for a *doit* [i.e. $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *stuiver*] each". The owner paid 1,300 guilders a year to the States, "gives the fellow a guilder a day to work it and is said to have got a great deal by it, though it be not 100 yards to go about".⁴⁸

The dairy farms were important sources of wealth, whose owners, according to Reresby and many others, were generally rich. Brereton visited a farm and calculated that every cow yielded the countryman 6st. a day. Cheese too brought in a lot of money: thousands of pounds of the commodity were sold at the market at Alkmaar every Friday. Apart from this there was the manufacturing industry, in connection with which the "indefatigable" Dutch invented all sorts of machines "unknown to others", so that in some sectors of industry almost all the work was done by machines. At Dordrecht, Isham observed two men at work in a sawmill "able to do more than thirty otherwise" and John Locke at Haarlem looked on while "a man with the easy motion of one hand [was weaving] at once thirty several pieces of *incle*". In the production of Delftware tourists admired the division of labour, every worker having "his different employment, some to form them, others to glaze them, and others to paint them". According to Child, the Dutch produced larger and more beautifully painted work than the Chinese themselves; the only thing they could not yet do was to "make their small wares transparent, in which the Chinese have the advantage of them". Finally there was fishing; tourists not only mentioned the smelly Greenland boats but more particularly the herring fleet, which operated on the English coast and generated a prodigious amount of money.⁴⁹

However, the wealth produced in the country itself drew fewer comments than the riches resulting from overseas trade. James Howell wrote about the Dutch: "Having no land to manure, they plough the very bowels of the deep, the wrinkled forehead of Neptune being the furrows that yields them increase." "Navigation and mercantile negotiation" produced huge fortunes, exemplified by the splendid East-India houses in several cities of Holland and Zeeland. According to Overbury the Hollanders owned as many as 20,000 vessels of all sorts, which in large fleets sailed out in all directions, the most important

destinations being the Baltic, the Mediterranean and the East Indies. Peter Mundy mentions the safe arrival of no fewer than 26 ships at a time, "from East India eight, from West India nine and nine from Guinea etc." People who turned to the available literature on Holland came up with much larger numbers of ships than Mundy, and possibly included vessels belonging to Holland's trading partners. Several travellers refer to the fact that, after the frost of 1674, British merchants alone "set out at once 300 sail" from Rotterdam. Veryard states that there were "commonly [...] above 3,000 vessels [...] in the port and channels" of Amsterdam, about which city he added the classic remark:

Though a fleet of three or four hundred ships should arrive at the same time, loaded with all sorts of merchandise, the citizens are so rich and the commerce so great, that they can take it all off in five or six days.⁵⁰

Curiously enough Joseph Shaw referred to Rotterdam when he mentioned "the most thriving town in the 17 provinces". Most tourists would have used this epithet in connection with Amsterdam, "the empress of Christendom for trade" or "the storehouse of Europe", which in the course of the century more than doubled its size. Houses were constructed in regular lines along the new canals; those on the Herengracht were particularly splendid. John Walker wrote:

Many of the merchants' houses are of the Corinthian order (in imitation of the Italians), the lower rooms generally paved with marble and on the top battlements set with figures; insomuch that it is usual to lay out ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling upon a single house.⁵¹

Shaw made special mention of those belonging to Mr. Trip and Mr. Pinto, a rich Jew. "In this last is a room paved with ducatoons or crown-pieces and these enlaid edgewise." The writer of a guidebook wrote about the same merchant: "He would have put silver bars in the window of a lower apartment", but to his mortification the magistrates stopped him, for it was seen as a provocation to "the mob". In the end "he put up iron gilt" instead. But let us return to Shaw:

Indeed the whole New Herengracht is fronted with houses like the palaces of princes, where glittering gildings, exquisite paintings, rich China, screens, gold, pearls, diamonds enchant you and rival the apartments of monarchs in haughty magnificence.

William Hammond, who had just arrived from Venice, was not impressed by the buildings but he did agree with the majority of tourists that the city “for riches and traffic [could] vie with any town in Europe”.⁵²

The wealthy owners of these houses hardly seemed to distinguish themselves from their less affluent fellow-townsmen. Henry Sidney mentions burgomaster Valkenier, a man “taxed at 2 tun of gold”, who “walked about the streets just like a shopkeeper”. East-India sailors on the other hand, did not mind showing off their riches. Thomas Penson saw the “Lords for six weeks” and commented:

Most of their clothing is of the painted Indian silks and some of them do wear long basket-hilted rusty swords, tied up very close to their waists and make very comical figures. And now their pockets are full of money they lord it about the city and extravagantly spend their geld [i.e. money]. They are frequently reeling in the streets before noon and some, accompanied with their whores will have a black boy to carry his hat before him or to go by the side of the coaches.[...] And I have seen in the Long Cellar where one of them, having gotten his wench by him, threw down a 28 stiver piece to pay 6 for a rummer of wine, would not trouble himself to count over his change, but with his hand swept it into his pocket right or wrong.

The States allowed these sailors much liberty, for as soon as they had got rid of their money they saw themselves obliged to sign on for another voyage to the Indies.⁵³

Tourists sometimes wondered what it was that had made the Dutch so prosperous. It was clearly not only their energy and diligence. Fynes Moryson thought the war with Spain had been an important factor, for throughout this war “which they desired to make eternal”, they had supplied Spain with food and equipment. Usually wars “make provinces desolate”, but “in the heat of the war [...] [they] had attained far greater riches than any most peaceable country of their neighbours, or than ever themselves formerly attained in their greatest peace and prosperity”. Holland’s geographical position and limited natural resources are also mentioned. As the provinces could only maintain one sixth of their population, the people had of pure necessity become “merchants or skippers”, who in the course of the century had through “the idleness of others” developed into “conveyors [...] for the rest of Christendom” and since they did not consume much themselves, they had become very rich.⁵⁴

It was a paradoxical situation that a country which hardly produced anything itself was so abundantly provided with all manner of commodities. Numerous travellers referred to this, possibly taking their inspiration from a Latin poem by Scaliger, which was printed in some guidebooks on Holland. Peter Mundy put it like this:

They have made a place where they live in health and wealth, ease and pleasure. For although the land (and that with much labour) is brought only to pasture – and that but in summer neither – yet by means of their shipping they are plentifully supplied with what the earth affords for the use of man. As corn, pitch, tar, flax, hemp etc. from Danzig, Königsberg etc. in the Baltic Sea; masts, timber, fish etc. from Norway; from Denmark cattle; and from any part of the world besides (either in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, where any trade is), with the most precious and rich commodities of those parts; with which supplying other countries, they more and more enrich their own.⁵⁵

This was all very fine, but for perceptive tourists it was difficult to write about Dutch trade and wealth without thinking of the position of Britain. Moryson suggested that the Dutch, while getting rich during the war with Spain, had disregarded the interests of the English, their allies. Later travellers too had the impression that the Dutch only thought of themselves. They seemed to drive everybody out of business, and had only themselves to blame for the 1672 war. They had “by their industry and art in trading [...] become so excessively rich and potent, that they began to insult and would needs be arbitrators to their neighbouring princes and states”. Although John Northleigh did not seem to mind that the Dutch had monopolized the East-India trade and Ellis Vervard was not worried about the Dutch catching “all their cod and herrings” in the English seas, others were not too happy about the Dutch predominance at sea. A tourist who visited Amsterdam in 1662 wrote:

This place was never at a higher flood of wealth and pride than now; our last breach with Spain (which gap they endeavour again to widen) was the sunshine they made hay in, but I hope we shall frustrate their cursed expectations.

Skippon and Nicolson appeared relieved when they saw the port of Amsterdam, Nicolson was sure more vessels could be seen on the Thames at London, than on the river IJ, “notwithstanding their great Dutch brags of a wood of masts to be seen at this city”. However,

Amsterdam remained a powerful competitor which, as the young merchant Richard Chiswell realized, would sooner or later have to be dealt with. When Joseph Shaw, who did not hide his pro-Dutch feelings, mentioned the "numberless fleets" which brought "all the rich treasures of both the Indies" to Amsterdam, he added they "were a sight that [filled] a lover of England at once with wonder and envy".⁵⁶

Clearly many British tourists in Holland looked critically at the way in which things were done at home and they felt it was important to learn from the Dutch. At the beginning of the century Sir Thomas Overbury was favourably impressed by the fact that in Holland "private property" did not exclude "public wealth", although he was not sure that things would continue like this in peace time. James Howell advised his readers to imitate the industry of the Dutch and William Mountague did not mince his words: the English were far too lazy. The herring fishery by which the Dutch grew rich "as we in England might do if we were not infatuated", was only one example. A final point, which Carr and Mountague discuss at length, is the treatment of bankrupts. They do not mention Vianen and Culemborg, small cities south of Utrecht, where bankrupts from all over the United Provinces settled, because they could not be prosecuted there, but they paint an ideal picture of the way the Dutch dealt with this problem. In Holland a businessman who appeared to have cheated was severely punished, but if a merchant had suffered unexpected losses, his creditors could often be persuaded "to advance to the poor man a sum of money, to help him up again in trade". Debtors were not hurried away "to prison, to lie and rot (as some barbarians let their debtors in other places)", but it was frequently possible for a bankrupt to "go to trade again" and pay back "everybody to a farthing". During their visit to Amsterdam, James Vernon and his friends watched a man who could break glasses with his breath. He was a typical example of the material success tourists had come to see in Holland: "He was a rich merchant and cracked; but now he sells wine and breaks glasses and that, they say, has made him whole again."⁵⁷

In the wealthy city of Amsterdam, whose daily revenues in taxes were estimated at up to ten thousand pounds, the deacons of the Reformed Church had the administration of the impressive sum of "three tons of gold a year for charitable uses alone". Without exception, tourists admired the provisions for the poor, the orphans and old people in Amsterdam, and indeed all over the country. There were

weekly distributions of bread and money and in winter of peat. Those who were unable to support themselves were maintained by the magistrates and by the religious communities to which they belonged in stately institutions, "which at once make the lazy able beggars work, and comfort and cherish the weak, so that there is no fainting, complaining or rotting in their streets". The only beggars tourists mention with any regularity were inmates of a "Lazarus house" on the canal between Rotterdam and Delft. According to Dawes "the Lazars, which are infected with the leprosy [threw] long boxes into scutes passing by and into waggons". During his stay in Holland James Howell did not see anyone "to exercise any act of charity upon" and he thought the fact that mendicants were kept to work, one of "their best pieces of government".⁵⁸

Various methods were employed to provide these charitable institutions with income. In Amsterdam the profits of the theatre went to the Burgerweeshuis, the orphanage for the children of the freemen of the city, and to an old people's home. Funds for charity were also provided by taxes on showmen at fairs. At the end of each day an "iron money box" with the takings of each booth was taken to the "stadhouse", where the box was "opened and the money divided into three parts, whereof the Lords take one and the players the other two". Collections for the poor were held in the churches, where even the orphans contributed two doits each (which they had received for this purpose from the "father" of their house). Twice a week officials of the charitable institutions went through the streets of Amsterdam, ringing their bells at every house to ask for a contribution. Once a month the same thing was done by deacons and four times a year in "the week before the sacrament [was] given", by the minister himself, accompanied by an elder of the church. "At this time a minister may be seen to go into a taphouse or tavern, for which at another time he would be accounted a winebibber and the worst of reprobates." Poor boxes were to be found at the entrances of churches and the "hospitals", but also in private and public houses, and merchants rarely concluded bargains without thinking of the poor. According to Northleigh Amsterdam was "one continual almshouse". Collections were even held on board the trekschuiten and if not enough money could be raised in the usual ways, lotteries were organized, about which one tourist wrote: "The people have a pretty trick to turn covetousness into charity, for they build up hospitals with lotteries and maintain them by lotteries."⁵⁹

Nothing is said about the way the inmates of the old people's homes were dressed, but orphans could easily be recognized in the streets. In Haarlem they wore "blue coats with one sleeve red and the other green", in Amsterdam "one side of their garments [was] black and the other red". According to Moryson the most intelligent boys were sent to university and the others were "put to trades"; girls were brought up to be housewives. John Evelyn affirms that one orphanage in Amsterdam had such a good reputation that its girls were often able to make quite good marriages. The hospitals for the sick also impressed visitors. Lord Fitzwilliam saw the Gasthuis in Amsterdam, which apart from a hostel for poor travellers had clinics for sick civilians and soldiers. Fynes Moryson wrote: "all things for health, food and cleanliness of the body are physically, plentifully and neatly administered to them", and according to Evelyn this military hospital was "one of the worthiest things [...] the world can show of that nature". Nothing of this kind existed in England until Chelsea hospital was opened in 1682.⁶⁰

In the efforts of the Dutch to provide the least of their citizens with the necessities of life, Joseph Shaw saw "the seeds of their mighty industry and laboured manufactures; the sinews of their state and the most formidable of their forces". Another tourist wrote:

Since acts of mercy, as contributing to the sustenance of the poor, are justly esteemed the most acceptable offerings, so the prudent Hollanders are not defective in this great duty, but do with a liberal hand cast their bread upon the waters, not without well-grounded hopes of finding it again.⁶¹

THE STATE OF LEARNING

With so many British students attending Dutch universities, the many remarks about the state of learning in Holland do not come as a surprise. Dr. Ellis Veryard, who had studied at Leiden and Utrecht, is rather brief and dismissive about Dutch higher education in general. He thought that what the Italians said of the Genoese applied to Holland as well:

Loro lettere son lettere di cambio. The mechanic arts are preferred to the liberal ones; for why should people busy their thoughts with things inconsistent with their real interest?

Shaw voiced similar feelings: what could one expect "in a country where profit is much more in request than honour"? However, these views were certainly not shared by the majority of English visitors, some of whom gave detailed descriptions of what they saw at the universities of Leiden and Utrecht, which were in many respects different from those in Britain. There were no entrance exams so anyone could enrol as a student; Thomas Molyneux wrote: "A cobbler, if he can speak Dutch, might be made a *civis academicus*, though he can neither write nor read." Another difference was the colleges, of which there were only a few for those of slender means. Generally students "boarded among the burghers", often with their own professors, as John Walker put it: "The students are not here confined to formalities as they are in Oxford, but left to their liberty for their habit and recreation." Edmund Calamy and Molyneux saw the disadvantages of this, especially for young students: "For such young boys I count it certainly the worst university in the world, for being obliged to no duty and not being under any restraint, I admire how any of them come to be scholars." Calamy preferred by far the "collegiate way of living in our English universities".⁶²

However, for those of riper years Molyneux thought the opportunities to be found at Leiden were better than anywhere else, although many students in the final stages of their medical studies went to France, where more practical work could be done in the big hospitals. Veryard too was highly complimentary about the Leiden faculty of medicine. Supervised by the professor, students looked after the patients who could be persuaded to go to the university hospital and they watched dissections in the anatomy theatre. The public lectures Molyneux attended were not read out of books, as had happened in the past and was still done at Oxford, but the professors "spoke offhand", summarizing the works of other scholars. A student could profit far more by this than if he stayed at home and read the books himself.⁶³

Students thought even more highly of the "private colleges", given by the professors at home in a large room. These cost 30 to 50 guilders and for one or two months private lessons (one hour every day) were given to small groups of three or four. Thus John Erskine and several other Scotsmen studied law with professor Matthias between 7 and 8 in the morning, i.e. just before the public lectures started. John Clerk got his private lesson from his professor in the evenings. Vitriarius asked him questions about the public lectures of

that day and set him some legal problems to be solved in writing for the next night. All this for only two ducatoons (slightly more than six guilders) a month and the promise not to tell anybody about it, for Vitriarius badly needed the money. John Northleigh's experiences were rather disappointing: the professors dictated their lectures "in Latin sometimes no less obscure than the sense itself" and private tutors at Oxford were just as good or possibly even better. However, John Clerk and Thomas Molyneux thought they got good value for their money: "How much more and faster a man learns by these colleges than by his private studies!" Clerk got so absorbed in his academic work that on more than one occasion (as he told his children in his memoirs) he remained indoors for a month. Molyneux wrote to his brother about the benefits of living in the house of Dr. Margrave:

Here I shall have not only the advantages of his conversation and a free [re]course to him when any doubt shall arise in my private study, but also the use of his glasses and furnaces, whenever I shall have a mind to do anything in chemistry myself.⁶⁴

Famous scholars are mentioned by several tourists. Howell (1619-23) gives the names of Heinsius, Grotius, Arminius and Baudius. Moryson (1592-95) listed all the 16 professors at Leiden noting their salaries and printing the timetable of the public lectures. Seven of them earned £400 a year, two got £800 and one, a professor of divinity, got £600 plus £300 "for his preaching in the church". The highest salary went to professor Franciscus Junius, a theologian, who got £1,200 a year. Moryson told his readers to take into account that most professors did not have to pay rent. In 1663 when the naturalist John Ray copied the *Series Lectionum* there were 20 professors in Leiden and 13 in Utrecht, who according to him earned between 200 and 300 pounds sterling a year.⁶⁵

Several visitors gave descriptions of the conferring of doctor's degrees. In Leiden this happened "without that pomp and extravagant expense in practice in England". Sir Philip Skippon gave a detailed account of what he saw in the "divinity school":

At the school gates stood a beadle without a gown, having a silver staff, where he stayed for the coming of the professor, who was in his gown, and the respondent, who was in his cloak; then the beadle ushered them into the school, where the professor took his seat and the respondent his

under the professor. The printed theses were some of them dispersed the night before at the printing house, and now by the respondent, who distributed them in his seat. After that he made a Latin prayer and read the beginning of his theses. Immediately an opponent, first craving leave of the professor, argued against them. After him two more earnestly contended who should oppose next, till the professor commanded one of them to be silent. When three opponents had done disputing, the respondent concluded with another prayer, and then thanked the company for their presence and patience. The opponents were not taken off, but of their own accord passed from one argument to another, and when they had done, they gave the professor thanks for the favour and leave. The opponents sit in no certain seat, but anywhere among the auditors. If any professor of the university comes in during the disputation, the beadle brings him to his seat; and when all is done, he attends the professor of the chair and the respondent no further than the school gate.⁶⁶

RELIGION

Throughout the century a fair number of critical remarks were made about the attitude of the Dutch towards religion. When the later Queen Mary arrived in Holland in 1677, she had expected to see more "devotion in a people so lately in such eminent danger". John Berry was struck by the "profaneness amongst them on the Sabbath, following their manual occupations as on other days". Veryard coolly noted: "They are not over and above devout; for, to speak the truth, their interest is their chief devotion and a good bargain relishes better with them than a long prayer." In the beginning of the century Fynes Moryson had already noticed that scarcely one third of the people went to church on Sundays. He wrote about Leiden: "I often observed at times of divine service much more people to be in the market place than in the church." Those that did go to church did not always conform to the tourists' sense of decorum either. When in 1711 a gentleman visited the tomb of William of Orange in Delft a service was going on: "I could not but have my indignation moved to see the congregation with their hats on and moving or talking without the least respect." On Sundays people travelled, windmills were in operation, farmers were seen at work and shops were open, although "most of the windows [were] shut". "Travelling by land and water [continued] as on other days, with this difference that upon passing through gates in sermon time we pay a small fine as ½ st. a man, and

thus the Sabbath day is observed in all places". Only in Zeeland "the inhabitants seemed much more devout".⁶⁷

Mountague rather liked it that the shops were open, since he did not see why people who travelled on Sundays should have to go without food, but many others took a more serious view. The Scots student John Erskine found it difficult enough to get used to the fact that his landlord, a Lutheran, worked on Sundays, but he was scandalized that dissections went on as well. They even "explained those parts of a man's body which might occasion greatest laughter and disturbance among young men". The only time he went to a coffee house on a Sunday he noticed that some customers "were playing at the dams", which he looked upon as highly improper. "Everything considered it was too much to go there at all on the Lord's day." In Amsterdam another traveller saw "masons and carpenters building during their divine service, cries of all sorts [were] allowed as much as upon any other day and gaming [was] practised both by men and women without the least reserve". At Utrecht the same tourist was in for an even greater shock. During the "kermis" period an old church served as a shop for "trinkets and toys of all sorts. [Even] the English Presbyterian church was occasionally put to the same holy use". Ralph Thoresby's comment was:

I could not but with sorrow observe one sinful custom of the place: it being customary for all sorts to profane the Lord's day, by singing, playing, walking, sewing etc., which was a great trouble to me because they profess the name of Christ, and are of the Reformed Churches.⁶⁸

In these circumstances it is quite understandable that the exiled London merchant and politician Thomas Papillon felt obliged to write a treatise on the sanctity of the Sabbath. Only public fast days were kept with any solemnity. During Farrington's visit to Utrecht there was a "thanksgiving day for the deliverance of the town in 1673", and shops and most tourist attractions were closed. Erskine bitterly remarked: "The commands of men are obeyed and the commands of the great King and Governor of all Kings and States slighted."⁶⁹

Toleration

On the other hand tourists were generally very positive about religious freedom. In Leiden, William Caton, the Quaker preacher, was the guest of a Baptist woman at whose house he was allowed to have a meeting. He mentioned it as a curiosity that her "husband was a papist". Ellis Veryard wrote:

It is very ordinary to find the man of the house of one opinion, his wife of another, his children of a third and his servants of one different from them all; and yet they live without the least jangling of dissension.

Sir John Reresby commented on the many religions and stated: "They admit persons of all countries and opinions amongst them, knowing well that this liberty draws people, numbers of people increase trade and that trade brings money." Most of these foreigners had settled in the big cities of Holland. In Amsterdam there were, according to a tourist in 1710, 13,000 Catholics, "as many Lutherans, 4,000 Anabaptists, 80 families of Arminians, 500 families of Quakers, 450 or some more of Portuguese Jews, 1,000 families of High Dutch Jews" and three English churches, one Anglican, one Presbyterian and one Independent. A guidebook stated that Calvinists, Catholics and the smaller religious groups each made up one third of the population of Amsterdam, but even those "of no congregation" at all could live "with impunity" in the United Provinces.⁷⁰

A striking example of how people belonging to different religions could live together in harmony was an old women's home at The Hague. Both Mountague and Nicolson mention the "Hofje van Nieuwkoop" (built 1658-62). The latter wrote:

The founder was a Papist and intended it for women of his own religion; but the States would not suffer him to build, except only upon this condition that half of the inhabitants should be Protestants and the other half Papists, which order is now observed.

Mountague says: "The founder, who was of the reformed religion, died before they were finished and left the perfecting of the work and management of the revenues to a Roman Catholic, who put in half of his own religion." Typically both travellers, who possibly admired the Dutch for their religious toleration, could not help showing their own anti-Catholic bias. Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who stayed much longer in Holland and had intensive contacts with people from various religious backgrounds, says he learned an important lesson in the Republic, which was "never to form a prejudice [...] against any man because he is of this or that persuasion". He continued: "I saw so many men of all persuasions that were, as far as I could perceive, so truly religious that I never think the worse of a man for his opinions."⁷¹

The Calvinist church

Many travelling members of the Anglican church perceived the Dutch Presbyterians as less narrow-minded than their British counterparts, "not so hot and fiery as our own". John Ray noticed "the psalters [were] bound up with the church catechism" and concluded that singing was possibly the most important part of divine service in Holland. One traveller noted: "The Dutch are mighty singers of psalms, both at home and in their churches". Tourists liked it that in most big churches organs were used, which "seemed to be a reproach to our dissenters, who exclaim with so much vehemence against these church bagpipes as they style them". John Leake, a nonjuror, thought the fear of some British anti-papists was unfounded; there was clearly no harm in church music: in using the organ the Dutch simply "heighten[ed] their devotion". He did not think they risked ever becoming "slaves again to the enchanting music of Italy".⁷²

A number of tourists were quite surprised to find there was still evidence of the old religion in the monumental churches, which had nearly all been taken over by the Calvinists. Images of popes and friars remained as of old in the windows of the church at Gouda and at Dordrecht Isham saw a stone with a cross on it, "held in much veneration by the Roman Catholics of the Low Countries, it having been formerly part of an altar in the church". At Den Bosch Northleigh was amazed to find that the figures and ornaments on the screen and altar were undamaged "though in a Protestant place", but Evelyn was happy that "the fury and impiety of popular reformers" had not caused as much destruction as in England.⁷³

As we have seen in the chapter on sightseeing, tourists' remarks on the churches bear on a wide range of topics. Many commented on the way collections were held; Dr. Harris was struck by the fact that there was hardly any coughing, which he found so disagreeable in London, and Fynes Moryson mentioned the custom of women to take "little pans of fire" with them to church to keep warm. Criticism is heard too: Burnet did not like the sermons, which he thought "methodical and dull" and Thomas Raymond wondered on what passage of scripture the Calvinist preachers founded their practice of sprinkling water three times on the infant's face in baptism. Another visitor thought that the Dutch custom by which bread and wine were passed on by the communicants to those sitting next to them was "differing from our Lord's first institution" and Brereton felt that the communion service lacked the "decency and reverence" he was used to at home.

A London merchant described what he saw in the Old Church in Amsterdam, which “was then full of people all sitting at the communion, being the last Sunday in the month. The men being all in black cloaks and broad bands as big as handkerchiefs and sitting apart from the women as we do in England, with this difference that the men are in pews about pillars and the women on benches or chairs in the open part of the church”.

Thomas Penson was present at the catechising of a woman in Rotterdam:

It seems it is the custom if any man or woman intend to come to the Lord's table, they shall first give an account of their faith to the minister by being publicly examined in the church as well as privately at their houses [...] After the catechising was ended, the minister stood up and made a short prayer, then the people all drew into the body of the church where was read 12 psalms. Then the minister ascended the pulpit, gave out a psalm, which was sung, after which a short prayer and then a sermon of an hour and a half long and last of all part of a psalm was sung and so the people were dismissed.⁷⁴

Travellers who mention the organisation of the church approved of the fact that it was in many respects dependent on the State. If ministers meddled in politics at a synod, the representative of the states called them to order with a “Ho la, mijn Heeren Predicanten”, and if they preached against the government the local authorities sent them “their wages with a new pair of shoes”, which meant that they had been discharged. Calvinist ministers were paid salaries fixed by the cities, an excellent thing according to Yonge, for in this way “no emulation arises about precedence and advantage, nor litigious contest for tithe etc.”. At the beginning of the century ministers at The Hague got 80 pounds a year, while later in the century salaries in big towns were between 150 and 200. In smaller towns 100 pounds was not uncommon but in country villages the pay was sometimes as low as 300 guilders (£30) a year.⁷⁵

British churches and sects

English Presbyterian ministers received the same salaries as “the Dutch Dominees”. Sir William Brereton, the later Puritan general who met many pastors of English churches, always asked them about their incomes. Mr Peters at Rotterdam had 100 pounds a year and Mr. Vincent at Dordt about the same sum (600 guilders as minister plus

“300 guilders out of the Latin school, whereof he is usher, and 100 guilders more gratuities”). At the end of the century 1,500 guilders were paid at Rotterdam and 2,000 at Amsterdam.⁷⁶

Skippon described a service in the small English church at Middelburg:

The reader first read 2 chapters and rehearsed the belief, everyone being then bare, and set a psalm; then the minister began his first prayer, made a sermon, and in his last prayer prayed for the King of England, the Prince of Orange, States General and the magistrates of the town. The women sat together on benches in the middle of the church; and the men at the naming of the text, were uncovered as we observed in Scotland.

In the course of the century many of the churches which in earlier days had flourished had begun to decline. Descendants of the original members felt as much Dutch as English and only small numbers turned up at the English services. About thirty years after Skippon's visit, Mountague saw only “about a hundred auditors” in the same church, “Dutch from English and Scots parents”. Sir Francis Child occasionally went to the English chapel at The Hague where there were never more than twenty people present – although this may also have been due to the preacher, whose long sermon was “stuffed with dull similes”, for two years previously a Londoner was present when “a young gentleman [...] before a numerous auditory was making an oration in Latin”. In some places the preachers were no longer English either. In Utrecht Justinian Isham and his governor had their lodgings at the house of Mr. De la Faye, a Frenchman, who was the English Presbyterian minister. When at Delft John Farrington listened to Mr. Van Nise, of Dutch-English parentage, there were “hardly so many auditors as pillars in the church”.⁷⁷

British religious communities in Rotterdam and Amsterdam on the other hand prospered. In Rotterdam two new churches were built at the turn of the century. Child wrote: “The Scotch church, built by the Scotch merchants of this place, is after the modern [style] and worth the being seen.” For the construction of an Episcopal church, contributions were received from “the Queen and several nobility and gentry of England”. Montague Drake reported: “The Queen's arms are very finely cut and placed over the west window and the Duke of Marlborough's are under them.” According to Farrington the Episcopalians were guilty of schism and they and the Presbyterians, who had

had a church at Rotterdam since 1619, had “less converse with each other than here in England”. Leake, a fervent supporter of the High Church party, had a very low opinion of the English Presbyterian minister at Leiden, many of whose views were merely based “upon the authority of John Calvin”. Unfortunately “the Episcopal churches at Amsterdam and Rotterdam were at too great a distance from us to go every Sunday to”. One of the reasons he appreciated his visit to Utrecht, where at that time (1712) peace negotiations were going on, was that the bishop of Bristol had been allowed by the city magistrates to use St. John’s church for services “according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England”. It was “one of the greatest satisfactions” of Leake’s stay in Holland that twice daily he was able to attend these services, which gave him a view, though “transient [...], of the beauty of holiness”.⁷⁸

In Amsterdam several tourists visited the meeting house of the Brownists, English dissenters who had settled in Holland at the end of the sixteenth century. Dawes saw one of them get up, choose a text and comment on it:

If anyone thinks he said either too little or too much, or from the matter belonging to the text, anyone that will, stands up and delivers his mind, and so others find fault with him and fall to arguing, so that it is another Westminster Hall rather than a place of divine faith.

William Bagot, who heard “seven sermons in two hours”, could not “without pity call to remembrance the simplicity and weakness of this ignorant sect”. Henry Piers, a convert to Catholicism, felt sad that they relied on “the counsel of their private spirits” instead of accepting the guidance of the Holy Ghost and the Catholic Church. Thomas Raymond, the nephew of the English ambassador, only felt anger against them, for in their circles “pestilent railing books” were printed “against the Church of England and the bishops”.⁷⁹

Among the other sects in Amsterdam were Armenians, Arians, Socinians, “Familists of Love [and] above thirty several sects” of Anabaptists. John Locke described a service in the Armenian church and a meeting of the Collegiants. Northleigh was present at a Quaker meeting in Rotterdam, where he “heard a certain noted English Quaker (Mr. W.P.) preach an ingenious English sermon to a Dutch congregation; an interpreter, who stood at his side explaining with a great deal of dexterity what he said, paragraph by paragraph”. William Mountague did not like sectaries; he did not go into the details of

their religions, but noted that all "dissenters from the established church of Holland" had to be married by the magistrates; they had no say in the government but they did have the right to "go into their military by sea or by land, and be knocked on the head if they please".⁸⁰

The Roman Catholic church

Unlike their French and Italian counterparts, British tourists did not pay much attention to the Roman Catholics in the United Provinces. It was mainly in Maastricht, where Catholics had remained in possession of a number of their old churches, that tourists recorded their impressions of a religion which was officially discriminated against. Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Richards, a Catholic himself, admired the rich treasure of relics in St. Servatius. He saw St. Peter's key, the cup belonging to St. Servaas, his chasuble and tunic and "some milk of the Blessed Virgin". Mrs. Elizabeth Burnet, a Protestant and author of several works on religion, probably looked at the same relics with different eyes and Ray and Skippon wrote about their visit to this church: "We observed a great number of boys, who came from school to hear mass, they kneeled down in ranks and filled the body of the church." Few travellers mention Catholics in the north at all. Sir Edmund Prideaux is an exception; he refers to the fact that some time before his visit (1711) the Jesuits had been banished from the province of Holland. Many of his countrymen seem to have been unaware that a fair proportion of the inhabitants of the United Provinces had never followed the Reformation. According to Coryat, Nijmegen was "wholly Protestant [and] popery [was] clean exterminated" out of Dordrecht. Moryson's claims that even some members of the States were thought to be Catholics, were probably closer to the truth. When in the big churches the organs were played in the afternoon, he had noticed "many with wax candles, mumbling their prayers silently together". At the beginning of the century Catholics who met in private houses in Amsterdam and elsewhere were liable to small fines, but in the 1680s, when William Carr estimated their number at one third of the total population, secrecy was no longer necessary. In Amsterdam the Catholics had 85 chapels and the only outward sign of discrimination was the fact that they were not allowed to have bells. However, occasional outbreaks of anti-papist feelings did occur. Farington reports that in Friesland Catholic services had been disturbed and pictures had been burnt.⁸¹

Many Protestants could not write about Catholics without making it abundantly clear what they thought of them. Priests were often seen as swindlers; an Utrecht student had this to say about one of the exhibits in the collection in St. Mary's:

They keep here a pretended smock of the blessed virgin; it is without seam and looks like a sort of muslin. Perhaps if this smock were in the hands of some cunning popish priest, it might be made to work some profitable miracle in time.

The Scotsman John Erskine made no bones about his anti-Catholic views either; after visiting a Catholic church he wrote about "a hellish and mock religion". Others whose views were less extreme, usually had their reservations about the Catholic faith. One tourist, who attended a special mass celebrated by cardinal De Bouillon at Utrecht during the peace negotiations in 1712, liked the music very much but could not help adding that there was "superfluity of superstition".⁸²

The Jews

The most unusual sight for British tourists making the rounds of the churches must have been the celebration of a Jewish sabbath. There were several small synagogues in Amsterdam in the first half of the century. Dawes heard the Jews singing somewhere "upstairs in an upper room", and saw "the priest" walk about with the law, all those present wearing white surplices. Another tourist wrote:

Every man had a veil (white) either of taffeta or thin stuff. The minister preached that day in the Portuguese language and when he had dispatched with his sermon, they sang in Hebrew but made a strange unpleasing noise and at the last they bring out the old law, written in a parchment roll, which they carry about their synagogue, which is after rolled up and then a piece of taffeta rolled about the parchment and then a kind of rich covering put on, and 2 gilded silver rings with small bells hanging on the top of the wooden rollers. All the women sit above in the galleries; at the entrance into the synagogue is a cistern with 4 cocks for the Jews to wash their hands when they come into the synagogue.⁸³

Gilbert Burnet took the study of the Jewish religion very seriously. He talked with learned rabbis and listened to their sermons, the most remarkable passages of which were translated to him by an interpreter. Philip Skippon, who wrote relatively much about the Jews, com-

mented on the "singing tone" in which the scriptures were read and the enthusiasm with which boys "with their hands and faces" touched the covering of the law when it was carried back to be locked away. Sir William Brereton was possibly given more information about what he had witnessed, when he went to see an English tobacco merchant, who, together with his wife had only recently been converted to the Jewish faith. Both Brereton and Skippon were surprised to find that the service seemed to take all day.⁸⁴

Although in the second half of the century Jews were allowed to settle in Britain and had a synagogue in London, their places of worship in Amsterdam remained on the tourists' programme. In this period detailed descriptions of the Jewish rites become scarce, but we still get numerous remarks about the lack of order during the services. It was probably in the new Portuguese synagogue that John Northleigh saw "2,000 men and boys with white silk hoods over their shoulders [listen to] two others who had but little resemblance to priests". "At every period they repeated their great Alla or Allalujah, but the rest were not very attentive, but laughing and talking together." To Thomas Penson their ceremonies looked "more like madness than order". John Farrington saw both the Portuguese and the German Jews at prayer; the first were "very noisy and very odd", but their behaviour looked saintly compared to that of the German Jews or Smouses, whose "worship [was] tenfold more confused than the others, and they have no devotion at all among them". The only thing, apart from their wealth, the Jews were admired for was the school, "within the courtyard where their synagogue stands". William Carr wrote:

Their children are taught Hebrew and very carefully (to the shame of Christians negligence) brought up and instructed in the Jewish principles.⁸⁵

Only few tourists had personal contacts with Jews (Leake was shown around by his banker, Browne met a Jewish doctor and was present at a circumcision in a private house), most English travellers perceived them as an exotic element. Northleigh was impressed by the wealth of some of them and believed the rich (Portuguese) Jews had "greater privileges" than Christians belonging to the sects. Peter Mundy not only commented on their wealth but also on the way they were dressed, and another tourist remarked that in Amsterdam they did not wear any distinctive badges as was the case elsewhere on the continent. Jews do not seem to have made a particularly favourable impres-

sion on Brereton: "Their men most black, full of hair and insatiably given unto women; their wives restrained and made prisoners." James Fraser looked upon Jews as "mala necessaria", but Sir Philip Skippon, a scientist, preferred to stick to the facts:

The men are most of them of a tawny complexion with black hair; some have clearer skins and are scarce discernable from the Dutch etc. They carry much perfume about them. Amsterdam allows them great freedom, some of them are rich, but most are very poor.⁸⁶

THE DUTCH PEOPLE AND THEIR CUSTOMS

At the end of the general travel observations we usually find remarks on the people and their customs. An anonymous tourist in 1676 was particularly interested in these matters and filled 25 pages with notes on subjects such as diet, weddings, burials, dogs, cleanliness, bread, beer and wine, whoredom, sealed paper, children, etc. Thomas Molyneux, who studied medicine at Leiden, was also someone whose observations were original. He noticed that "halting, waddling and limping men, women and children [were] extraordinarily frequent and common". Women had "ugly, broad and misshapen feet", which, according to him, was caused by their wearing slippers. "At all times of the day you shall meet with ten women in slippers for one in shoes." About the men he had this to say: "They wear their own hair more than they do in England, but I believe they do that upon their common principle of saving." Dr. Harris made some remarks about the "agues" and "putrid fevers" the Dutch were subject to, which in the beginning of the century had killed many British soldiers in Flushing and Den Briel and which very nearly carried off young Ralph Thoresby. For two weeks the fever made him sweat profusely, giving him "extremely bad nights, generally lying awake". Then the fever returned every other day, even more violently and after the third week he was advised to return to England, where, it was hoped, he might recover in his "native air".⁸⁷

Fynes Moryson devoted a whole paragraph to the Dutch language, with much information from Guicciardini and Marchantius. He stated that the Dutch, who liked speaking foreign languages, pronounced "their own vulgar language [...] much more gently than the Germans, omitting many of the consonants and diphthongs which they [i.e. the Germans] use". He also gave some examples of the way in which

people addressed each other: "Wat sag you Mein Shaff, or mein kinde, or mein Vatter, or mein moure, that is, what say you my lamb, or my child" etc. John Northleigh probably had his information from books as well: "Their language is a kind of a dialect of the old Teutonic, modelled into many monosyllables and pronounced with a more tart and voluble fineness." John Farrington addressed the question of where the best Dutch was spoken. Was it in Leiden or in The Hague, where, according to the residents of Leiden, the language was "more corrupted by foreigners, whose tongue they learn and mix with their own"? Some of those who ventured into Friesland found a completely uncorrupted dialect in the village of Molkwerum. Edmund Calamy, who made a holiday tour, had read in Temple that it had a "great affinity with our Old English [and was] very different from the language of the Hollanders [...] We heard one of the natives pronounce the Lord's Prayer, which we all observed to be very like our Old English". Farrington discussed the resemblance between Frisian and English in some detail and quoted the well-known rhyme: "Butter, bread and green cheese is good English and good Frize."⁸⁸

Many of the remarks on the ordinary Dutch people can be found in contemporary literature on Holland, and travellers did little more than rephrase familiar themes. Veryard mentions the proverbial neatness of the houses:

No people in Europe are so neat in their houses; the meaner sort being extremely nice in setting them out to the best advantage. The women spend the greatest part of their time in washing, rubbing and scouring, that their pots and pans are kept brighter without than they are within. The floors of their lower rooms are commonly chequered with black and white marble, and the walls and chimneys covered with a kind of painted tile; their upper rooms are often washed and sprinkled with sand, to hinder any moisture from staining the boards. You had almost as good spit in a Dutch-woman's face as on her floor, and therefore there are little pots or pans to spit in.

According to John Ray, some people even took down the tiles from the roofs to clean them. Edward Southwell wrote: "The very stables, the racks and mangers and floors are washed and scoured, and indeed I think the greatest part of their time is spent in scouring their household stuff." Other comments on the houses concern the steep stairs, the cisterns in which rain water was collected to serve for drinking water and the large number of pictures in almost every house.⁸⁹

Moryson illustrated his general remarks by what he had seen with his own eyes and filled several pages on "the nature and manners" of the Dutch. He stated that they were a just people, they loved "equality in all things" and were "frugal in diet, apparel and all expenses". Even anti-Dutch writers conceded the first point, although Sir William Monson, the author of several tracts on the navy, did not make it sound like a compliment: "They are just in contracts, making a conscience in the little religion they have, to defraud a man." Travelling gentlemen usually had reservations about the other two "virtues". It was thought strange that even the "best citizens [seldom ate] warm flesh above twice in a week". As Dr. Harris put it: "Here they study not the dainties of Apicius, nor the Roman or Asiatic luxury, but in great plenty they do live with great frugality." Dutch table manners left much to be desired as well: "they never make use of forks nor dare they wipe their fingers with their napkins [...] but they have a kind of blue cloth, which they wipe their mouths and hands with from time to time, tossing it from one to another as if they were playing at tennis."⁹⁰

In the beginning of the century, there was reportedly "no difference of habit between a burgomaster and an ordinary man". Both were plainly dressed in dark clothes with little lace but with fine linen. "Women of the better sort [wore] long hukes", black veils hanging over their heads and shoulders. At the end of the century traditional dress had been given up by many of the upper classes. Dr. Harris wrote: "Their nobility and gentry both men and women, do dress as fine and modishly as we ourselves, or others that cannot for all the world help imitating or aping the French." However, Dr. Northleigh did not completely agree with his colleague: "The gentry [who were] very parsimonious in their housekeeping [were] not near so lavish in clothes as most other nations" and Richard Chiswell hoped the English ladies would start following the example of their Dutch sisters and abstain from luxury commodities.⁹¹

French influence was particularly strong in The Hague and Utrecht ("the ape of The Hague"), but was also noticeable in Amsterdam, where the owners of the stately houses had forgotten the frugality of their ancestors. Sir Francis Child looked upon this as progress. In The Hague the company was much more agreeable than "in any of the other boorish places, where money is their God, business their religion and good breeding, mutual civilities etc. voted useless and not becoming a Hogen Mogen". Shaw, however, idealised the ancient virtues of

the Dutch. He detested everything French and noted about The Hague:

A more loose, weak and to me more nauseous (though by some thought a more polite) behaviour and carriage seems here to have debauched that wise simplicity and severity of manners that reigns in all the other more prudent and virtuous towns.

William Carr, at one time English consul at Amsterdam who had written a guidebook on Holland, said he knew some Dutch people who themselves regretted the change of manners: "The old severe and frugal way of living is now almost quite out of date in Holland, there is very little to be seen of that sober modesty in apparel, diet and habitations as formerly."⁹²

The author of another guidebook did not regret the change. The Dutch, who used to be called "blockheads and butter and cheese guttle-guts", had lately become more civilized, something Moryson had already stated a century earlier, attributing it to their frequent contacts with foreigners. However, few British tourists noticed much progress. Locke and Molyneux are the only ones who report they saw Dutch people very civilly taking their hats off to each other, and Joseph Shaw did certainly not express the general view when he said that "even the most ordinary sort are very civil, affable and obliging to strangers". Throughout the century travellers were gazed at because of their clothes; the British upper classes were evidently not very popular with the republican Dutch. Sir John Reresby wrote:

Gentlemen have there the least respect in any place, especially strangers; they paying treble rates for everything they have occasion for as they travel, and being pursued and pointed at by the rabble until they refuge themselves in their inns; nay, an easy provocation will make them throw dirt and stones at you.

Mrs. Burnet thought the Dutch were "pretty rough" and her husband was shocked to find a signal lack of civility to foreigners, even among scholars. Mountague only met two witty people whose company he enjoyed, and Leake must have felt relieved after crossing the border with Flanders: "We had now no longer the Dutch Boor and Skipper to converse with, but a people of a civiller and more complying manner."⁹³

It is true, the Dutch could not really be blamed for their "heaviness in action", which like their lack of "valiant and courageous temper",

was attributed to the climate, the quality of the soil, the air or their diet. James Howell expressed the then scholarly view as follows: "When people of a more vivacious temper come to mingle with them, at the second generation they seem to participate of the soil and air and degenerate into mere Hollanders – the like is found daily in horses and dogs and all other animals." Dr. Ellis Veryard did not go in for this theory and summed up his impressions in only a few words: "The people are for the most part churlish, industrious, thrifty and rather crafty than wise."⁹⁴

Very frequent are the comments on the hard-drinking men, whose faces were full of scars. It was said that in their drunken quarrels they agreed beforehand whether they would slash or stab. On festive occasions there was always a prize for the man who could drink his fellows under the table; this even happened among the better sort of people. "If you ask a woman for her husband, she takes it for an honest excuse to say he is drunk and sleeps." Sir John Reresby wondered whether this thirst was caused by the climate, the proximity of Germany or their "education from infancy", for his guidebook told him: "While they suck they feed them with beer in bottles made like a breast." William Mountague believed their "frequent tipping" was necessary for the Dutch to keep them in good health in their humid climate. The English, who were even greater drinkers, had no such excuse, so were hardly in a position to blame them.⁹⁵

Unlike the men, the women were "wonderfully sober" and handsome when young. After marriage, however, they became "fat, dull and ill-proportioned", which gave rise to the saying "that Holland yields pretty pigs but ugly sows". A purely traditional view, no doubt, for on his arrival Walter Plumer wrote to his friends: "I think the ordinary women much handsomer than I expected." Lord Irwin even told his guardian it might be a good idea for him "to marry (when you do) a Dutch wife, for they are the neatest creatures in the world and continually live at home". Eighteen-year-old Lord Irwin may not have been aware of the reverse side of this coin, as shown by Reresby:

The wives mostly wear the breeches and insult over their husbands with words upon easy occasion, being much favoured by the laws of the country.

Moryson was also struck by their independence (they often looked after their husbands' shops or other business), but he did not like the sight of a man asking his better half for permission to go out, nor the

fact that a husband could be summoned before a magistrate because he had beaten his wife. It even happened that a woman drove her husband and his friends out of the house, a sad example of "unnatural domineering". Northleigh took a more dispassionate view: "There is more equality observed here in their families than in England [...], where the husband is the head of the family."⁹⁶

Dutch parents were said to indulge their children; young women in particular enjoyed far more freedom than girls in Britain did. They were allowed to walk in the streets at night with their boyfriends, and in winter, when they went out skating with young men, they often spent the night at an inn in a suburb or even in another town; "and this they do out of accustomed liberty without prejudice to their fame". However, Ray found that Dutchwomen seemed "more fond of and delighted with lascivious and obscene talk than either the English or the French". But, he added, "once married, none [were] more chaste and true to their husbands". Northleigh put it like this:

Young women here justify the liberty they take, whilst unmarried, with a common saying that their bodies are their own but afterwards their husband's and consequently not at their own disposal.⁹⁷

Several tourists mention customs connected with birth, marriage and death. In some towns the arrival of a newborn child was made known by a piece of cloth, in the form of a boy or girl, wrapped around the knocker on the door. Moryson alluded to the frequency of monstrous births, about which he did not want to go into detail: "Only I will say that some of them have been of such vivacity and nimbleness in leaping, as the women had much ado to kill and destroy them." James Howell calls them "Zucchies", batlike creatures, "which the midwives throw into the fire, holding sheets before the chimney lest it should fly away". Many years later Dr. Veryard, investigating the matter, was told by physicians that the "suterkindt" really existed.⁹⁸

Another custom in various cities was to place "a bunch of straw with some bricks upon it" in front of the door of a house in which somebody had just died. On the right-hand side, if it was a man and on the left, if a woman. Burials took place inside the churches: "Finding a place where there have been none buried before, [they] make the grave as deep as possible and bury one upon another." Veryard wrote: "They bury their dead without the least ceremony and if you hear a bell ring at a funeral, you may conclude it is a Papist." Both Thomas Penson (who was professionally interested and twice invited to a burial) and

James Yonge give extensive descriptions of what happened. The latter tells how men in black clothes and “a mourning hatband hanging down to their rump” went about to invite the guests. Penson wrote:

In the morning of that day the deceased is to be buried, the bier is set in the street, just against the door. Between twelve and one of the clock, comes the Aansprekers or servitors, who are to officiate at the funeral, they usher in the guests and direct them into what chambers they shall go. The company being come the corpse is brought forth and set on the bier. The top of the coffin being flat there is set thereon a ridged frame, over this is laid the pall or covering, which is a good piece of black cloth. Then the corpse is taken up on the shoulders of fourteen men in black cloaks (which are commonly the best friends or near neighbours to the deceased). Thus the people being orderly coupled and the whole company being in black cloaks, the aansprekers go before the corpse, each bearing in his hand an hour glass, they move slowly and solidly to church, where they use no manner of ceremony or service over the grave, but immediately proceed to bury the corpse and those fourteen friends that bear the body thither do also fill up the grave. And so the whole company returns (in the same coupled order) back again to the house of the deceased, where the tables are plentifully adorned with flagons of wine and rummers, which the aansprekers hand about to the company very freely. For their custom is never to serve any wine about, till the corpse are buried and the company returned home again. Their prefixed time for burial is two of the clock in the afternoon to be at the church wherein the corpse are to be interred; which if they exceed, for every hour after, the friends of the deceased forfeit 50 guilders, each containing 20 d. in English money.

Joseph Taylor is one of the few to describe “a Dutch wedding”, which to him looked “more in the nature of a funeral, for the man wore a long black cloak, and the woman looked as serious as though she had been going to a confession”.⁹⁹

For most tourists Holland was clearly a country where it was better to watch the people and report on their customs than to mix with them. Consequently some travellers did their best to describe scenes which for them may have epitomized their Dutch experience. Only a few travellers can have seen people skating on the ice in winter: “peasants going and coming from market with baskets on their backs; and others driving people before them in chairs or slides from one town to another.” Yonge wrote: “The winter is here their pleasantest times. It’s so cold they cannot work and it is necessary to play.”¹⁰⁰

This also happened often enough in summer. Brereton saw and heard two companies of guardsmen feasting at the Doelen in Rotterdam, "their flags hung out in the street" and they shouted, sang, roared, skipped, leapt etc.; there was "scarce one sober man to be found amongst them". Penson went to the "kermis" at Gouda and in describing it he may have been going by one of those genre paintings that were so popular at the time:

I went into one of the chief houses in the fair, where was a boor with a short patched cloak and under it a cymbal; likewise another with a violin. There I saw excellent sport by the dancing of the manakin and his vrouw, the Fryer and the Freyster, some singing, some dancing, some drunk and some sober.

Edward Southwell's journal provides us with an excellent illustration of what British gentlemen may have hoped to see of the "boors" in Holland. One day the yacht on which he was travelling from Leiden to Utrecht stopped at Alphen to enable the passengers to have dinner at an inn:

It happened at this time that the man of the house's child was dead and he had invited several young men and women to the funeral, where they got most comfortably drunk, and did nothing but sing and dance and tumble and touse one another; that it did exactly to the life represent a Dutch droll, such as we see often drawn in pictures, and to see their clumsy fondness gave us great diversion.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSION

Most authors who added general observations to their travel journals give a more or less systematic account of the history of the United Provinces, which is followed by a discussion of the government, with its complicated system of deputies, its apparent lack of central power, and the army and navy. Comments on the administration of justice in general are sometimes supplemented by eyewitness accounts of public executions. Other general remarks concern the laws regulating the economy, which were praised, although it was difficult for tourists to understand how the Dutch could support their heavy taxes.

One of the most vivid impressions tourists carried away with them was that the industrious Hollanders seemed to be able to turn everything into a source of wealth. Their farms, factories, fishing, but

especially their overseas trade concentrated huge amounts of money in Amsterdam, where the millionaires lived soberly in magnificent houses. It was sometimes difficult for an Englishman to accept that a country which in itself was poor enjoyed such riches. Should they themselves follow the Dutch example and work harder while spending less? The advantages were obvious, even the most vulnerable citizens of Holland profited from this wealth: the poor, the orphans and old people were well provided for by the cities, which looked upon this not only as a responsibility, but also as plain common sense. Tourists were equally appreciative of the Dutch universities, for even if the buildings were nothing compared to those in Oxford and Cambridge, the professors were capable and students who made an effort to learn had excellent opportunities.

Finally the Dutch themselves: As to religion, many of them did not seem to have any, unless it were the desire to make as much money as possible. On the other hand, tourists generally approved of the tolerance in religious matters. Two things they liked about the Calvinist church were the organs and the fact that the ministers were subject to the state. Catholics were hardly noticed and their ceremonies treated as superstitious, whereas the Jewish religion seemed to be characterized by its total lack of order and devotion. Other comments on the Dutch concern the customs of the ordinary people: not the well-educated and wealthy Dutchmen, but those who kept their houses excessively neat and did not seem to care about fashionable clothes. The ordinary Dutchwoman was said to be bossy and the hard-drinking Dutchman bad-mannered, lacking due respect for his betters. However, when observed from a distance at their inns and funerals or skating on the ice they fully lived up to the tourist's expectations and looked very picturesque.

NOTES

¹ Cf. chap. 1, pp. 34-35.

² Moryson, III, and Hughes, *passim* (JJ, 251-305).

³ Howell, *F.L.*, 115-29; Reresby, 130-37; he includes the "provinces under the King of Spain"; review of Temple, e.g. *Bibliothèque choisie*, 6 (1705), 297-314; cf. Burnet, *Some Letters*, 295: "The perfectest book of its kind that is perhaps in being", the remainder of the quotation in chap. 1, p. 35; Harris, 50: "This subject having been excellently well performed, if not in a manner exhausted, by one of the best of our English pens [...], Sir William Temple"; Veryard, 17-24; Carr, 23-28; cf. chap. 1, pp. 34-35.

⁴ Coryat, 357-58; Perth, 51; cf. Farrington, 233; Arx, Veryard, 10; Shaw, 28; Moryson, I, 46 (JJ, 228); Burcht, cf. Browne, n. 52.

⁵ Anon. 1691, 44; Moryson, I, 53-54 (JJ, 243-44); Veryard, 5; cf. Browne, n. 148.

⁶ Fitzwilliam, 26v-27r; cf. Veryard, 7; Nicolson, 12v; cf. Northleigh, 707.

⁷ Veryard, 10-11; cf. Coryat in chap. 1, pp. 39-40; Denne, 21-22.

⁸ Yonge, 101: "It was assured me by the apothecary to be true, as I have since and before found it asserted by Heylen *Cosmography*, lib. 2, c. 12, p. 384; Wanly, p. 141; Crooke's *Anatomy*, lib. 5. quest. 21; Dr. Brown *Vulg. Errors*, lib. 7, c. 2; Laurentii *Anatomia*, lib. 8, quest. anat. 21; Howell's *Letter*, 13, vol. I, sect. 2; and Ray's *Journal*, page 29, where the story and epitaph is at large, abating only the odd circumstance of her abusing a beggar on account of her having 2 children and that the beggar should curse her and wish she might have as many as there were days in the year; that accordingly she had 182 boys, as many girls, and that the odd one (which was to make the 365) was an hermaphrodite"; Moryson, I, 52; Nicolson, 10v-12r; Blainville, 11-14; Northleigh, 705; Shaw, 23; cf. Moody, 36r-37r: "Although other nations look on it as fabulous, yet the inhabitants thereabouts hold it for an undoubted truth"; cf. Evelyn, 55 n.

⁹ 1421: Veryard, 13; Browne, n. 208; Isham, R, I, 20; Coster: Moryson, I, 45 (JJ, 226); Browne, n. 67; Erasmus: Browne, n. 15; Style, 26; contemporary inscriptions indicated 1467, cf. Berry, 4r and Blainville, 5; Anabaptists: Northleigh, 708; Browne, 95-96; David George (= David Jorisz. 1501-1556), Le Petit, 64-66; Nicolson, 8r; Fraser, 100r; cf. Guicciardini, III, 104 (according to Junius, 441, he only grew up at Delft).

¹⁰ Leake, 14v; 16v-22v; Moryson only rarely mentions Guicciardini and Marchantius; Moryson, III, 276-77; Howell, *F.L.*, 116; 119; Skippon, 394; Howell, *F.L.*, 119-20; travellers do not agree on the number of provinces, Howell, *F.L.*, 34, mentions "6 (almost 7) confederated provinces", Coryat, 357, and Brereton, 29, mention 8.

¹¹ Neville, 31: "The Bril is a great fortress and very strong, commands the entrance into the Maas, so that nothing can come up the river without suffering the shot from the town. This place was taken by the company of the gueux by a miracle. They were at sea and knew not where they were, having had a great fog and no wind but found themselves off land. A boat being manned off, they found it was the Bril and that there was not a soldier in the garrison, that they were gone to Utrecht and Brussels"; Northleigh, 703; cf. Moryson, I, 50-51; 200 (JJ, 237-38; 248) and Coryat, 374-75; Queen Elizabeth, Browne, 107; Howell, *F.L.*, 36.

¹² Moryson, I, 45 (JJ, 225); Carr, 12; cf. Mountague, 109, and Northleigh, 707; Moryson, *ibid.*; Isham, 18; Veryard, 6-7.

¹³ Moryson, Hughes, 376 (JJ, 293); Penson, 30r, in Amsterdam, saw "in Dutch, the besieging of the city of Leiden by the Spaniards, which is accounted the best play they have and is never acted but about the same time of the year when it was actually besieged, which was in September 1574"; cf. chap. 3, n. 46; Neville, 37; Brereton, 47; cf. Veryard, 9-10.

¹⁴ Skene, 33v; Brereton, 57; 19; Denne, 21; Mountague, 21-22.

¹⁵ Moody, 38v-39r; Neville, 114, has another version: "A peasant by agreement brought in some hundreds of soldiers, hid in boats under turfs, who as he was got into town, fell a-coughing; and for fear the enterprise should be discovered, he bid his companions stab him, which they did, as the story goes"; cf. Browne, n. 196.

¹⁶ Mountague, 209-10; Child, 177, 2r; Fitzwilliam, 34r; more on the history of the synod, Yonge, 105; Berry, 11v; Bargrave, 191r; cf. Browne, n. 209.

¹⁷ Mountague, 44; Leake, 13r; the fight was against Monk in August 1653; Fraser, 100r; cf. Browne, n. 36.

¹⁸ Carr, 74-79; cf. Browne, n. 154; Anon. 1699, 5: "We passed by Woerden and Bodegraven, at which place the French committed most shameful extravagances, when they overran those countries in 1670 and 1672"; cf. Isham, R, III, 2; Browne, 103; Ray, 41; Nijmegen, Burnet, *Some Letters*, 295; Utrecht, Anon. 1691, 42; cf. Nicolson, 15r, Anon. 1695-99, 27 and Farrington, 262; William III, Mountague, 34.

¹⁹ Mountague, 47-48; Shaw, 22, mentions the Vijverberg in The Hague, "the sad stage where the tragical deaths of the two De Witts taught all mankind by an unparalleled barbarous example"; Veryard, 14; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 95; Brockman, 74r; Isham, R, II, 21.

²⁰ Nicolson, 15v-16v; Temple, Anon. 1691, 9; Southwell, 63-64; Chiswell, 12; Erskine, 202; Burnet, *Some Letters*, 295; Farrington, 237.

²¹ Utrecht 1713, Leake, 22r-23r; quotation, Anon. 1712, 10r; Plumer, 263v; Rijswijk, Anon. 1699, 3; Thornhill, 42; Child, 177, 13v; Mountague, 38; Neville, 33: "The Voorhout is full every Sunday, in the middle of common people and on each side two ranks of coaches. In the year of the peace it was very fine to see all those liveries. The finest was the Emperor's Ambassadors Caunitz and Stratman, the last's was yellow with a black velvet galoon and 2 silver. The first's was a greyish cloth galooned with silver and galoons of 50 colours; his pages' a red velvet coat with broad gold galoons and shoulder knots. The Elector of Mayence's Ambassador's liveries was a blueish cloth, a red velvet galoon and 2 gold colour; the pages' was gold lace and very thickly laced"; for full details, cf. *De Nieuwe vermeerderde [...] Leyste*.

²² Detailed description in Aglionby, 136-140; Farrington, 53, from Temple, cf. Van Strien and Breuker; Skippon, 396; quotation, idem, 389; cf. Moryson, III, 285 (JJ, 266); burgomaster, Brereton, 49; Reresby, 130-31; allowance, Brereton, 8; cf. Skippon, 396; schout etc., Skippon, 396-97; for another view, cf. Brereton, 13: "This schout is equivalent to the high sheriff and precedes the burgomaster, because he represents the prince his person" (at Dordt) and (9) at Rotterdam: "One baylie or schout [...] chosen by [the] States General and hold these places durante vita."

²³ According to Moryson, III, 289 (JJ, 274-75), there were only "three families of gentlemen in Holland and Zeeland" and the state was run by "advocates of the law or sons of merchants"; idem, III, 284 (JJ, 264-65); Northleigh, 712; cf. Ray, 22: "The people have no interest or share at all in the government"; States Provincial, Temple, *Observations*, 58-59; Reresby, 130-31; Skippon, 395-96; Shaw, 52; Howell, *F.L.*, 124; stadholder, Reresby, 131; cf. Howell, *F.L.*, 125; Veryard, 20; Leake, 20-21v.

²⁴ Howell, *F.L.*, 123; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 62; Skippon, 395; 800; Reresby, 132; cf. Van Deursen, *Staatsinstellingen*; Temple, 63: The president of the States General "sits in a chair with arms, at the middle of a long table, capable of holding about thirty persons"; Taylor (1707), 87-88; Moryson, III, 284 (JJ, 265); quotation Mountague, 31; cf. Shaw, 52: "This state is not so properly a commonwealth as a confederacy of seven sovereign provinces"; quotation Moryson, III, 285 (JJ, 266).

²⁵ Shaw, 53; Overbury, 98; Shaw, 53; cf. Skippon, 395: "They may consult of the same matters than the States General do, but usually they debate of lesser affairs"; *The Politia*, 631: "Of late times, the cause of state requiring the continual assistance of the General States, the said Council of State is but a shadow and resolves of no important

affairs without the directions of the States General"; Reresby, 132; Temple, *Observations*, 62-66; Skippon, 395; Moryson, III, 285 (JJ, 266); Overbury, 98; cf. Fruin (1922), 238.

²⁶ Moryson, III, 285 (JJ, 266); Reresby, 133; Overbury, 98; Veryard, 20: "The government of these provinces is purely democratical and popular, ever since their revolt from Spain"; Temple, 54; Hyde, 626; Leake, 20v (he refers to *The Examiner*, 27, vol. 3).

²⁷ Veryard, 22; cf. *The Politia*, 632: "26,600 fighting men, horse and foot; besides 4,000 French foot, and 140 horse paid by the French King: 30,740 men [...] Of these numbers there are 4,000 English, divided into 60 companies and those under three regiments, and 4,000 Scots under two regiments, the rest of the army are Walloons and Dutch"; Brereton, 70, Lithgow, 54, and Skippon, 375, mention a figure of 100,000 troops. Brereton, 29, even comes up with 130,000; Veryard, 21, mentions one of the methods the Dutch used in 1672 to get people to enlist. A limit was put on the number of domestic servants householders could employ: "so that such as cannot get employment, must either serve by land or sea or starve for want"; Moryson, III, 290 (JJ, 277); Overbury, 99; Carleton, 12; soldier hanged etc., Moryson, *ibid.*; cf. Howell, *F.L.*, 125; Browne, n. 181.

²⁸ Waiting, Brockman, 54v; Erskine, 201-02, saw 22,000 foot and horse near Nijmegen; cf. Douglas, 9 August 1686: "Last week there was a review of 20 thousand men before the Elector of Brandenburg; everybody went there [...] The first day the Elector with the Prince of Orange went about both the lines [...] and then one of them passed by the Elector, who was mightily pleased with them [...] The second day the Elector was not there, being as they say a little indisposed, but however the Prince caused draw them up in form of a battle and made them fire all on another, which was mightily pretty and then the whole army gave a round of shot"; Shaw, 12; Talman, 1698, *Diary*, 21-22.

²⁹ Carr, 30; Moryson, III, 291, (JJ, 278); Veryard, 22; cf. Brereton, 70: "The watchman on Dunkirk steeple" once saw a fleet of 120 States' men of war sail by; guns, cf. Browne, n. 2; Mountague, 14-15.

³⁰ Veryard, 21; Veryard did not take into account that the office of admiral was often given to a nobleman, as for instance Obdam; Carr, 31-32.

³¹ Mountague, 136-37: "To terrify the youth and the mob, they have in several places set up on a board painted neatly, the executioner whipping some and cutting off the hands of others for those crimes; which by this means are rarely heard of"; cage, Child, 177, 12r (from Mountague, 48); Taylor (1707), 40r; cf. Anon. 1686, 2, who travelled through cherry orchards and concluded thieves were whipped: They "have by the wayside erected a post with the picture of a man whipping with an inscription"; Farrington, 236; cf. Southwell, 64: "There was a pretty punishment for wanton wives, a collar of iron to be put about their necks and two great heavy iron shot hung to it, and for offending husbands a wooden tub like a petticoat. This habit is to be worn in procession about the town"; Brereton, 20, this punishment was for "whores, petty larceners, skippers that exact"; cf. Pepys, 146-47; Evelyn, 41; cf. chap. 3, p. 121.

³² Brereton, 8; 22; Nicolson, 14r; cf. Carr, 48; Moryson, III, 287-90 (JJ, 270-76); he uses the word "pirate" in connection with "the Dunkirkers", who strictly speaking were privateers (I, 54; JJ, 245); cf. Ray, 47: "Murder is not prosecuted with so much diligence and concern as felony or theft"; Bowrey, 38.

³³ Moryson, III, 289 (JJ, 274), he adds: "although in all torments they commonly mitigate the severity of the law"; cf. Unton, 96: "Their laws and manners, both in Holland and Zeeland differ very little, horrible execution done upon offenders in both places"; Moryson, III, 290 (JJ, 274); Skelton, 266ff.; Molyneux, 475.

³⁴ Moryson, III, 289 (JJ, 275); Anon. 1699, 6; cf. Perth, 25, during the fair at Maastricht: "there is so entire a freedom that nobody can be arrested."

³⁵ Cf. Veryard, 2: "The citizens of all ranks send their children to these houses for all extraordinary misdemeanours, where they are lodged according to their degree or quality and exempted from work if their parents pay their pensions"; Northleigh, 712: "Prisons they have none to speak properly, being only places of confinement where the debtors must be maintained at the charge of the creditors that put them in"; Isham, 100.

³⁶ Caton, 56-58; Yonge, 95-99, had first been imprisoned at the West India "pack-house" in Amsterdam.

³⁷ Harris, 61; Chiswell, 11; Farrington, 271; Penson, 24v; cf. Shaw, 39: "About 70 men were enclosed in the Rasphouse, or men's Bridewell, where a most severe labour (every two of them rasping fifty pound of wood a day) for many groaning tedious years, makes them prefer death to life and sweat out and atone for their past mischievous idleness."

³⁸ Fraser, 93r; Penson, 19v; Skippon, 404; Isham, 20, cf. Penson, 20: "Seleucus, who caused one of his own eyes to be burnt out, to save one of his son's"; Skippon, 404.

³⁹ Molyneux, 475-76: "They have another odd custom [...], when once a man has received his sentence of death, for the few days he is to live, they give him whatever sort of meat, drink or wine he will call for, and as much as he please of it, though it be never so dear or scarce, so it be to be got; and it is all paid for by the public. They have a story of one rogue, that upon this occasion called for a dish of parrots' tongues"; cf. Brereton, 52; Mountague, 177; *The Politia*, 652: "All cities are not allowed an executioner; but in case of justice do fetch that minister from the next city of more absolute sovereignty, which is known by stone gallows; petty states have it of wood"; Molyneux, 486: "They imagine the English as a cruel nation, and that we nor our laws have any respect for men's lives, but put them to death upon any slight account, which they gather from the many executions both of nobles and commons, that every day's Gazette informs them of; and they will not believe that so many men can deserve to die, nothing being so rare in this country as the punishment by death"; Saturday: Fraser, 93r; Mountague, 175-79; Isham, 23; idem, R, I, 77; Browne, 95.

⁴⁰ Brereton, 38; other gallows, Skippon, 402 (Leiden); Fraser, 88r (Utrecht); Brereton, 49 (Haarlem); Thornhill, 51 (Delft); Northleigh, 704; Brereton, 36; Fitzwilliam, 37r; Prince of O., Moryson, III, 289 (JJ, 274); Mountague, 21-22, quoted on p. 175; Child, 177, 6v.

⁴¹ Penson, 34r-v; Forrester, 11-21 May, 1709; cf. Farrington, 28; cf. Moryson, III, 287 (JJ, 271): "The law [...] passes over lighter injuries, not giving such ample satisfactions to the wronged even by word, as the constitutions of the Schweitzers give"; Skippon, 409; Brereton, 18.

⁴² Overbury, 98; Clement, 2v; cf. Leake, 13v, a long note on the "Bettering House" at Delft; also in Veryard, 2, quoted in n. 35; beggars, whores, cf. chap. 3, pp. 134-36.

⁴³ Parival, 1651, 26; Aglionby, 141-153; 238-41; Boxhorn, *Commentariolus*, chap. 12 etc.; detailed lists in Moryson, III, 286 (JJ, 267-68); Brereton, 65-66; *The Politia*, 632; Carr, 45-50; Breda, Anon. 1699, 14; Northleigh, 708; bawdy houses, cf. chap. 3, n. 48; transport, cf. chap. 2, p. 78; land, Howell, *F.L.*, 125: "Taxes upon every acre of ground, which is such, that the whole country returns into their hands every three years; Harris, 60: "He that can invent a new and easy tax, that will not be grievous to the people, shall be sure not to fail of a public reward"; Veryard, 21-22.

⁴⁴ Moryson, III, 286 (JJ, 268): "Each student in the university has eight measures of wine [...] allowed him free from imposition, and for six barrels of beer only pays one gulden and a quarter"; Ray, 44; Anon. 1676, 39v; Child, 178, 22r; cf. *Observations* (1622), 148-49: "To begin with: panis quotidianus. Their rye when [...] it comes to Amsterdam it must pay toll; coming from thence to other towns it must pay impost, and when it goes to grinding, it must pay accise money for leave [...] to have it ground: so as here is three times polling money paid before it can be eaten [...] Touching beer: over and above the toll paid for the grain and for the ground on which it grows, the brewer must pay a certain tax for every barrel he brews, and the citizens must over and above pay their accises, which amounts to more than that which the beer itself costs, and those that keep taphouses pay this accise double"; cf. also Temple, *Observations*, 129; Shaw, 47: "Their heavy and grievous taxes, which force them likewise on their great sobriety"; Anon. 1669, 58r-v; cf. Howell, *Winter Dream*, 475: "Though we pay 20 times more in taxes of all sorts than we did to him [i.e. the King of Spain], yet we are contented"; Penson, 28v; Suckling.

⁴⁵ Reresby, 134; cf. Brereton, 31: "Friesland now up in arms, because they will not yield to pay some taxes"; Carr, 48: "There was a mutiny at Zaandam about paying a new tax, whereupon the States sent a regiment of their soldiers and seized the heads of the mutineers and hanged up five or six of them at the town's end and severely whipped eight under the gallows"; Carr, 49-50; Nimmo, 83-84.

⁴⁶ Howell, *F.L.*, 30; cf. Moryson, III, 285 (JJ, 267): "The tributes, taxes and customs of all kinds, imposed by mutual consent (so great is the love of liberty or freedom) are very burdensome; and they willingly bear them, though for much less exactions imposed by the King of Spain [...] they had the boldness to make war"; Mountague, 164: "These wanton republicans [...] are fond of their chains, viz. their heavy taxes and impositions, their servitude being prodigious, having nothing but the name of freedom"; Carr, 50: "They have this to comfort them, that if it please God to visit them with poverty, they and their children have the public purse to maintain them; and this is one main reason why they so willingly pay their taxes as they do; for there is not a soul born in the States' dominions, that wants warm clothes and diet and good lodging, if they make their case known to the magistrates"; Harris, 60.

⁴⁷ Ray, 44: "All manner of victuals, both meat and drink, are very dear, not for the scarcity of such commodities, but partly by reason of the great excise and impost wherewith they are charged; partly by reason of the abundance of money that is stirring here [...] The dearness of this sort of provisions is an argument of the riches of a town or country, these things being always cheapest in the poorest places [...] Were not the poor workmen and labourers well paid for their pains, they could not possibly live"; Howell, *F.L.*, 29; 126-27; cf. Overbury, 100: "The towns nowhere so equally beautiful, strong and rich; which equality grows by reason that they appropriate some one staple commodity to every town of note"; cf. Temple, *Observations*, 116; Veryard, 4; Shaw, 41; Anon. 1669, 60r; Vernon, 256.

⁴⁸ Brereton, 53: "This pays back every day six or seven pounds sterling"; road, cf. chap. 2, p. 83; Child, 177, 5r.

⁴⁹ Reresby, 137; Brereton, 22-23; Howell, *F.L.*, 125-26: "For their cheese and butter it is thought they vent as much every year as Lisbon does spices"; Alkmaar, Locke, n. 21; Shaw, 47: "Indefatigable in toil and of a vast industry, and such entire strangers to idleness they scarce allow themselves any diversion, omitting no device, but inventing a thousand little arts and trades unknown to others to get money, which generally enriches them"; cf. Barlow, 249 (Amsterdam): "The people of this city and country are very ingenious and good workmen in most arts and sciences, and several things are done here which our English cannot attain to, as making good earthenware, and tinning over the plates; and their woollen dyers are better far than ours, and likewise their painters and limners"; Isham, 11; Locke, 1684, 77; cf. chap. 3, par. 53; Delft, Isham, 12-13; cf. Child, 177, 6r; fishing, Overbury, 98; Shaw, 49; Howell, *F.L.*, 125; Mountague, 9; 152-53: "We took notice of the vast number of their shipping, their Greenland fleet makes a great show, being about six or seven hundred sail, which breeds abundance of seamen, and employs abundance of shipping, but is not very gainful to the adventurer, for they often make bad voyages, killing but a few whales; the very ships stink of their oil, so we easily found them out."

⁵⁰ Howell, *F.L.*, 61; East-India Houses: Enkhuizen, Denne, 23: "A very stately house, built within these seven years of freestone and brick in a quadrangular form and covered with blue slate"; Hoorn, Shaw, 33-34, not "so magnificent" as that of Enkhuizen; Rotterdam, Bowrey, 29: "On the quay is a well new built East India House"; Overbury, 100; cf. Howell, *F.L.*, 126: "They send not near so many to the Mediterranean as England"; Mundy, 71; Northleigh, 703; cf. Carr, 8; Veryard, 1; cf. Guicciardini, French ed. 1567, 252; cf. *The Politia*, 633: "Upon the breaking up of the frost in March 1614, there were at Amsterdam 4,000 sail ready to go to sea, whereof 1,500 were good ships of trade"; cf. Evelyn, 48.

⁵¹ Shaw, 19; he adds: "Being younger and more active [she] seems to make brisker efforts, and to contend with, if not outdo her elder sister Amsterdam"; empress, Bagot, 3; Carr, 16; cf. Mountague, 148; Howell, *F.L.*, 9: "One of the greatest marts of Europe"; cf. Brereton, 56; Anon. 1699, 7: "Perhaps it may yield to none whatever in riches and the vast extent of its trade and commerce"; cf. Northleigh, 708: "It has been no less than four or five times enlarged, viz. in 1585, 1614, 1662, 1675"; cf. Veryard, 4: "The city is at present as big as two thirds of London [...] and as their trade increases [...], I doubt not but in time it will contend with the greatest and most majestic cities of Europe"; Northleigh, 707: "The Herengracht or Lords' canal is a noble and spacious street with fine buildings on both sides"; cf. Anon. 1686, 12: "The Herengracht, a mile long, is all built with noble palaces, in truth none are so fine as the Roman, but being all alike"; Walker, 3.

⁵² Shaw, 37; *A New Description*, 78-79; Hammond, 63: "I suppose it is those that come from the northern parts, who chiefly admire this town; he that comes immediately from the stately town of Venice and other majestical cities of Italy, will rather take it [i.e. Amsterdam] for a well ranged gang of seamen's and merchants' booths than anyways comparable to Venice."

⁵³ Sidney, 62-63; Penson, 27v; he adds, 28r: "This is about six weeks at the most; having lived thus like lords their money becomes very low, and perhaps a little in their landladies' debts, from whom they obtain nothing but frowns and sharp words. Then they begin to scratch where it does not itch, and after all, finding no other

expedient, must tack about and take another voyage to the Indies for three years at the least, and sometimes 4, 5 or 6 years' time. And it seems it is the policy of the States of Holland to give them any liberty while they are on shore and let them live as they list (unless they commit some signal outrages in the street), are not meddled withal and by this means they never want seamen to go that voyage"; cf. Harris, 61.

⁵⁴ Moryson, III, 291; 286 (JJ, 279; 268-69); cf. *The Politia*, 634: "Every man seems to affect war as the means to enlarge the general and enrich every particular; peace hurts and weakens"; cf. Heylyn, *Microcosmos*, 1621, 140: "whereas all other nations grow poor by war, these only grow rich"; cf. Howell, *Instructions*, 62; cf. *The Politia*, 633; geographical position, Moryson, III, 97 (JJ, 257); Overbury, 99; Howell, *Instructions*, 61; Temple, *Observations*, 79; idleness, Overbury, 99; cf. Howell, *Instructions*, 62.

⁵⁵ Moryson, III, 97; 287 (JJ, 258; 269-70); Reresby, 134; Epigramma de mirandis Bataviae, in Hegenitius, 96, also Veryard, 19; Mundy, 72.

⁵⁶ Moryson, III, 291-92 (JJ, 278-80); cf. Reresby, 134: "They have robbed the greatest part of the world of their trade"; Carr, 5; Northleigh, 708: "They have not only quite dispossessed the Indians in many places, but also the Spaniards, Portuguese and French, nay, I may add also the English"; Veryard, 20; Anon. 1662, 37v; Skippon, 407, quoted in Browne, n. 121; Nicolson, 14v; cf. Browne, n. 81; Chiswell, 10r: "It would be a better expedient to keep these people in their due bounds, if Delenda Carthago be a true maxim, by driving them gradually out of trade than by a hazardous war"; Shaw, 35-36.

⁵⁷ Overbury, 98; Howell, *Instructions*, 68; Mountague, 9; Carr, 52-57; Culemborg, Lawson, 161: "a refuge of Amsterdam banqueroutes"; Vianen, Fitzwilliam, 15r: "This town is composed only of broken merchants and other wicked persons, who dare not live in any other place; here they enjoy great privileges"; cf. Leake, 24r; Northleigh, 709: "Voluntary bankrupts are punished pecuniarily, corporally and sometimes capital-ly; and if they are proved perjured in giving an account of their estates, they die by the law"; quotation Mountague, 132; he adds: "This is conduct, this is management, this is prudence to be praised. But when will the English nation be so happy to imitate them in this? Truly I fear, Never!"; Vernon, 258.

⁵⁸ Shaw, 42; cf. Burnet, *O.M.*, 94: "But of all the parts of the Dutch government there was nothing that delighted me so much as the care that was taken of the poor, in so liberal and plentiful a manner, and the method in which this was managed, without partiality or regard to men's religions"; cf. Harris, 69; distributions, Anon. 1669, 46v-47r; Brereton, 14: "unto some of them allowed 4, unto others 5, unto others 6 Dutch shillings a week"; Brereton, 9; cf. Carr, 23: "They look more like princes' palaces than lodgings for poor people"; cf. Browne, n. 71; quotation, Shaw, 38; Dawes, 13r; cf. Brereton, 19 and Evelyn, 33; Howell, *F.L.*, 30.

⁵⁹ Theatre, cf. chap. 3, pp. 141-42; Penson, 28r-v; cf. Carr, 28; cf. Northleigh, 708: "There is scarce anything so inconsiderable or vile, but what pays a certain tax to the poor, mountebanks, ropedancers, Bartholomew-booths pay the third penny"; Northleigh, 708: "there being scarce a window where you don't see a box with 'Remember the Poor'"; collections, Carr, 24-26; poor boxes, Anon. 1669, 43r; Dunton, 213; cf. Pepys, 146; schuit, Skippon, 389; *The Politia*, 634.

⁶⁰ Haarlem, Skippon, 403; Amsterdam, Crowne, 68; Skippon, 405; Moryson, Hughes, 375 (JJ, 292); cf. Brereton, 14; Evelyn, 45; Skippon, 405: "Sick people lie in cabins on each side of a fair walk and in the middle is a pulpit, where their minister

preaches to them" (in Amsterdam); Fitzwilliam, 17v; Moryson, III, 290 (JJ, 276); cf. idem, I, 44 (JJ, 224); cf. Mundy, 73; Evelyn, 45 and note.

⁶¹ Shaw, 39; Anon. 1669, 42.

⁶² At Leiden, Carr, 11: "Above 80 Britons" (1688); Molyneux, 473: "About 18 or 19 English and as many Scotch" (1683-5); Utrecht, Fraser, 89r: "about 50 English students" (1659); Veryard, 23; Shaw, 48; Molyneux, 474; colleges, Moryson, Hughes, 374-75 (JJ, 290); Ray, 31; Mountague, 97; Brereton, 39; quotation Piers, 7; lodging with professor, e.g. Coppin (1627) with prof. Rivet; Walker, 3; Molyneux, 473; he added: "Their way of living is altogether as free and uncontrolled as that of the Templers in London, their presence not being exacted either at the public lectures of the professors, their private colleges or any other duty throughout the year"; Calamy, 146.

⁶³ Molyneux, 473; 485; Veryard, 8: "I have seen divers of the most celebrated schools and universities of Europe, but never found anywhere students have more advantages than here" (Leiden); according to Molyneux, 473, patients avoided going to the university hospital after the death of the famous Prof. Sylvius: "fearing to be dissected if they should die"; cf. Northleigh, 707: "The sick in the university hospital are visited by the students of physic, who are to determine what remedies they think most proper to be applied, which being approved by the professor, he writes the recipe, and the students transcribe it; the dead bodies of these patients being all liable to be dissected, they never want wherewith to exercise their industry in anatomy"; lectures, Molyneux, 474; cf. Burnet, O.M., 94-95; cf. Moryson, Hughes, 374 (JJ, 291): "All professors dictate their lectures and the students write them word by word."

⁶⁴ Clerk, 14, They "have always a large room for that purpose"; Northleigh, 707: "40 or 50 guilders"; Mackenzie, 100: "10 ducatoons for every college"; Burnet, O.M., 94-95: "The way of private colleges in their universities is an excellent method for giving an introduction to learning"; cf. Gid. Harvey, 141; Wodrow, *Correspondence*, xlii, with details on private colleges of Perizonius, Witsius and "Mijnheer Mark [who] once a day in private hearkens his lads their lessons in his own Medulla and in another private college upon the history of the Old Testament, for which he takes Spanheim's introduction"; cf. Ray, 31: "The students usually list themselves under some professor, who reads to them in private, running through a whole faculty, which they call Collegium Instituere, and for this they give a gratuity to the professor"; Erskine, 110-11; Clerk, *Correspondence*, 28 Feb. 1695; Northleigh, 707; Molyneux, 474; Clerk, 15, lodged with a German, who privately taught maths, philosophy and music; Molyneux, 475.

⁶⁵ Howell, F.L., 32; Moryson, Hughes, 374-75 (JJ, 291-92); cf. Veryard, 10: "The most eminent [...] were Carolus Drillingcurtius, heretofore physician to the present King of France; and Van Schooten, the mathematician" (Leiden); Ray, 27-30; 39-41; cf. Molyneux, 474: "The professors' salaries are not all equal [...], the divines are allowed most because they take nothing for their private colleges. The rest are equally allowed about 1,000 guilders a year"; for salaries of town officials in Amsterdam c.1660, cf. Bontemantel, II, 361-8: Illustere School, professors f2600, f2000, or less; Latin School, rector, f900, master, f600; Berry, 12v-13r, writes on the college at Breda and gives the names of the professors.

⁶⁶ Moryson, Hughes, 376-77 (JJ, 293-94); Locke, Dewhurst, 261, 268; quotation, Mountague, 97; Skippon, 399-400.

⁶⁷ Queen Mary, 11; cf. Burnet, *O.M.*, 248-49: "Holland having so lately come out of so great a danger of losing both their religion and liberty [...], one should have expected to have found among them [...] a more extraordinary spirit of piety and devotion"; Berry, 3v; Veryard, 23; Moryson, I, 50; Hughes, 281 (JJ, 237; 282); cf. Bodley: "There is not [...] a quarter part of the multitude well affected to religion; [...] not only not in heart and in deed, but not so much as in show and in outward profession" (1591-92); Anon. 1711, 2: "They travel by waggon or boat upon the Lord's days"; windmills, Fraser, 101v; farmers, Farrington, 42; shops, Dawes, 8r; Erskine, 166; Ray, 45; similar remarks by Mundy, 68 and Calamy, 146; quotation, Anon. 1695-99, 15; Skippon, 384: "The inhabitants here seemed much more devout than we observed afterwards the Hollanders and other Protestants in Germany, Switzerland and France; having a more serious sense of religion than any we could meet withal out of England, and observing the Lord's day with great respect"; cf. Halifax (1672), 83: "They being here [in Zeeland] very zealous Protestants [...], without any mixture of Roman Catholics."

⁶⁸ Mountague, 200-01: "They live very loosely in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, buy and sell frequently on this day and especially provisions; which is the more reasonable, because of travellers passing and re-passing and they must not starve on this, though the Lord's Day"; cf. Clerk, Correspondence, 14 March 1695: "The sabbaths of the Lord are very ill kept here, for it is the Dutch play day and we that are Scotsmen have great temptations to break it"; Erskine, 167; Leake, 12v; 16r; cf. Mountague, 198, on the English church at Utrecht: "The chancel is let for a joiner's shop, so little do they value what was once consecrated (because after the popish manner) to God"; cf. Anon. 1695-99, 28: "being used for making of cords [...] pictures and other goods"; Thoresby, 17-18.

⁶⁹ Papillon, 382-406; Farrington, 262; cf. fast-days, Brereton, 54; Anon. 1699, 13; Skippon, 386, at Bergen op Zoom: "All shops were shut up and the gates not opened till three in the afternoon"; Erskine, 166.

⁷⁰ Caton, 67; Veryard, 22; Reresby, 135; Anon. 1710, 8r; he must have used G. Leti's *Teatro Belgico* (II, 330), for he writes: "A modern author who has lived a long time in Amsterdam writes that [...] molti particolari che vivono senza religione"; Anon. 1695-99, 12, states there were thought to be 20,000 to 30,000 Jews in Amsterdam; Carr, 15; *The Politia*, 634; cf. Howell, *F.L.*, 29: "I believe in this street where I lodge, there be well near as many religions as there be houses; for one neighbour knows not, nor cares not much what religion the other is of, so that the number of conventicles exceed the number of churches here. And let this country call itself as long as it will, the United Provinces one way, I am persuaded in this point, there's no place so disunited."

⁷¹ Nicolson, 4r; Mountague, 65; cf. Fitzwilliam, 30r; Burnet, *O.M.*, 93.

⁷² Mountague, 142; Ray, 47; Anon. 1695-99, 20, he continues: "half the time of this voyage [Dordt - Antwerp] being spent by them in singing either psalms or ballads"; this also Moryson, Hughes, 281 (JJ, 282); Northleigh, 707; Leake, 26r; he adds with a reference to the Puritans: "All instrumental music in churches was esteemed sounding a march to Rome, and whatever was decent and tended to advance the beauty of holiness was nicknamed superstition and the trappings of the whore of Babylon, and [27r] therefore to be hewed in pieces as Samuel did Agag etc. May latest posterity never see the second part of this Holy Farce acted among us. And may those who are fondest of bringing us to correspondence with Dutch models,

learn so much sense and religion of our neighbours as to conclude that slovenliness and in-harmoniousness are far from being agreeable in places where divine service is performed."

⁷³ Gouda, Hyde, 625; Leake, 26r; cf. chap. 3, n. 11; Dordt, Isham, 8-9; Northleigh, 710; cf. Browne, n. 182; Evelyn, 45.

⁷⁴ Collections, cf. chap. 3, pp. 131-32; Harris, 68; Moryson, III, 94 (JJ, 255): "The women, as well at home as in the churches, to drive away cold put under them little pans of fire covered with boxes of wood bored full of holes in the top"; cf. idem, Hughes, 383 (JJ, 300); Burnet, *O.M.*, 93; 249; Raymond, 34; Moryson, Hughes, 281 (JJ, 284); Brereton, 46; cf. Erskine, 218, (sacrament at the French Calvinist church); Anon. 1695-99, 10; Penson, 12r-v; catechising, also Erskine, 192; Talman, 1698, Tours, 7.

⁷⁵ Carr, 28; Walker, 4; cf. Mountague, 55; cf. Dunton, 212; Yonge, 102; £80, Moryson, Hughes, 281 (JJ, 283); Mountague, 54-55; Veryard, 22, says the salaries were £90-100 yearly; Erskine, 197.

⁷⁶ Leake, 23r; Brereton, 6; 13; Farrington, 277; Anon. 1699, 8: "The minister's stipend is very considerable"; cf. Farrington, 265; cf. Sidney, 61; cf. Skippon, 400, on Mr. Newcomen, the English pastor at Leiden: "The States allow him about 75 lib. per annum; but they promised him to bear all the charges of removing out of England."

⁷⁷ Skippon, 384; Mountague, 229; Child, 177, 11v; Anon. 1695-99, 17, he continues; "his habit being fine coloured cloth with white gloves, laced band and ruffles"; Isham, R, II, 14; cf. Farrington, 269.

⁷⁸ Child, 177, 4; Drake (1710), 2; during Isham's visit (1704-05) the church was under construction (27); cf. Anon. 1706, 2v; Farrington, 277; Sprunger, 162-63; Leake, 23r.

⁷⁹ Sprunger, 29-34; Dawes, 11; cf. Bowrey, 37; Bagot, 4; Piers, 7-8; Raymond, 32.

⁸⁰ Brereton, 64-65; Locke, 100-03; Northleigh, 704, W.P., prob. William Penn; Mountague, 147-48.

⁸¹ French and Italian tourists, e.g., Signor Marco (1622), Pallavicino (1676), Lemaître (1681) and Freschot (1704); Perth, 14, on discrimination: "Catholics here have all the liberty they can wish for; only they being of the best quality and having largest possessions, suffer most by taxes and have no share in the government"; Anon. 1711, 17-18: "Since the Dutch have been masters [of Maastricht] they have made several of the churches arsenals and offices for other uses"; Richards, 1692, 13v; the Catholic Earl of Perth saw "a miraculous crucifix in a monastery of Augustine nuns" at Maastricht and tells the story belonging to it; Mrs. Burnet, 103r; Skippon, 411; Prideaux, 74v; he also commented on the large number of Catholics at Utrecht (29 chapels); Coryat, 359; 368; Moryson, Hughes, 280 (JJ, 282-83); Brereton, 68: "The Papists have not any constant meeting places known; these most restrained yet they are connived at and meet often in great men's houses"; Moryson, *ibid.*: "If any were apprehended at mass, their upper garments were taken from them or some like, but no heavy punishment inflicted on them"; bells, Carr, 15; cf. Mountague, 145; Farrington, 52.

⁸² Cf. a satirical description (1662) of R.C. priests in Ellis, 3rd ser., nr. 4, pp. 277-293; Anon. 1699, 6; cf. Anon. 1695-99, 28: "The smock of the virgin Mary without seam, at this time it was difficult to see, it being lately torn and now in mending"; cf. Penson, 22r, on the nuns at the Begijnhof in Amsterdam: "If there be any nun that

is likely to be worth a great fortune, the cunning priest takes care to send her to Antwerp"; Northleigh, 711, on Maastricht: "The Jesuit church here is not so magnificent as these fathers have in most other places, where they have better opportunity to enrich themselves"; Erskine, 182: "The priest had a sort of sermon consisting merely of some meditations on Christ's passion, very confused and inconsistent [...] O, that the Lord would still more and more engage me against this hellish and mock religion and learn me to know him and the mystery of salvation as he has revealed it to me in his word; and that I may be blessed of him to practise it, so as his glory may be advanced and the salvation of my soul"; Anon. 1712, 9v.

⁸³ Dawes, 10v-11r; Denne, 22; cf. chap. 3, p. 130.

⁸⁴ Burnet, O.M., 91; Skippon, 406: "This devotion was begun early in the morning and lasted till noon; after dinner they began again"; Brereton, 60-61, was at the synagogue from 9 till 11.30 and again from 15.00 till evening; cf. Evelyn, 42.

⁸⁵ Cf. a description of a London synagogue (1662) in, Ellis, 2nd Ser., vol. 4, pp. 8-21; Northleigh, 708; cf. Brereton, 61: "No good order no great zeal and devotion here [...], much time spent in singing and in talking"; Penson, 22v; Farrington, 272; Carr, 16; cf. Mountague, 146, Northleigh, 708 and Dunton, 212.

⁸⁶ Leake, cf. chap. 1, p. 37; circumcision, Browne, 100, and Journal [16] Sept. and Fitzwilliam, 17r; Northleigh, 708; Mundy, 70: "Most Portugals, rich merchants not evil esteemed of, living in liberty, wealth and ease"; cf. Anon. 1662, 38v: "Here they wear no badge to distinguish them"; Brereton, 61; Fraser, 103r, on Jews building a synagogue outside Dordrecht: "I could not learn the reason why this town had no kindness for that cattle, but they are mala necessaria"; Skippon, 406.

⁸⁷ Molyneux, 470-71; Clerk after some hesitation bought a wig, since almost everybody did so (Correspondence, 26 Sept. 1695, 8 May 1696); Harris, 64ff; Viscount Lisle, 61-63; cf. Richards, 1692, 13r, on soldiers in Willemstad; Thoresby, 24.

⁸⁸ Moryson, Hughes, 377-79 (JJ, 294-6); Northleigh, 712; Farrington, 275; cf. Nicolson, 3r: "The language that is spoke here [The Hague] is the most corrupted (though most fashionable) in Holland; which must needs arise from the daily confluence of ambassadors and their numerous attendants, from all countries in Europe"; Calamy, 183; Farrington, 53-54: "I think there is very considerable agreement in a great many of their words, especially their monosyllables as house, hose, smith, way, rain and all which are pronounced just as we do."

⁸⁹ Veryard, 23; sand: cf. Locke, n. 27; Ray, 45: "Some are so extraordinarily curious, as to take down the very tiles of their penthouses and cleanse them"; cf. Temple, *Memoirs*, II, 472-73, with the famous anecdote of the maid carrying a guest on her back so as to prevent him from soiling her floor; cf. Reresby, 137: "Their houses [are] neat to an uneasy degree, one scarce daring to stir or spit in them for fear of disobliging the mistress"; Southwell, 2/12 Aug.; cf. Locke, n. 34 and 68; stairs, cf. chap. 2, n. 53; cf. Farrington, 33; water, Walker, 4: "They have no fresh water but which descends from heaven, which they are forced to preserve underground in little brick houses plastered with paris"; cf. Moryson, I, 51 (JJ, 238); Mundy, 66; Brereton, 66; pictures, *The Politia*, 635; Mundy, 70; Evelyn, 39.

⁹⁰ Moryson, Hughes, 369-72 (JJ, 285-88); cf. Mountague, 23; Neville, 44, wrote that the inhabitants of North-Holland "heat the pot but once a week"; Monson, 402; flesh, Reresby, 136; he adds: "and that boiled"; Harris, 62; *A New Description*, 47.

⁹¹ *The Politia*, 635; Moryson, III, 169 (JJ, 263-64); huke, Dawes, 12v; *The Politia*, 634-35: "Their women go all covered with a black veil, which they call a huke, for

the most part of cloth; the better sort have it of silk rash"; Mundy, 78-79, included sketches of women in the "Brabants huke", which he liked; Harris, 70; Northleigh, 712; Chiswell, 10r.

⁹² Brereton, 33; ape, Anon. 1699, 7; Northleigh, 712: "Their former frugality does not continue in the same degree, witness their stately buildings in the new streets of Amsterdam, their changeableness in their habits and diet after the French mode; and the folly of gaming has also got no small footing among them"; Child, 177, 9v; Shaw, 22-23; he adds: "which yet is to be looked upon as the effect of a luxurious court, crowded with strangers and especially French, rather than the natural guilt, weakness or temper of the people"; Carr, 71-72.

⁹³ *A New Description*, 40; Moryson, III, 169 (JJ, 263); Locke, 118 (August 22); Molyneux, 325; Shaw, 43; cf. Carleton, 3/13 June, 1617, on Lady Bennett in The Hague and Amsterdam: "The boys and wenches [...] much wondered at her huge farthingales and fine gowns and saluted her at every turn of the street with their usual caresses of Hoore! Hoore!" (whore or hurray?); cf. Shaw, 28; cf. Ray, 46; Reresby, 136; Mrs. Burnet, 100r: "The common sort of people are pretty rough but very industrious"; Burnet, *O.M.*, 94: "The rudeness of their behaviour, particularly to strangers (even their learned men and clergymen not excepted), was a very odious thing. Golius, the Arabic professor at Leiden was the only civil man I met with, for travelling had polished him"; Mountague, 165; cf. idem, 7: "You are not to expect great civility from the Dutch, who pretend not to much breeding"; Leake, 30r.

⁹⁴ Howell, *F.L.*, 128; Ray, 46; quotation Howell, *Instructions*, 62; cf. idem, 128-9; Veryard, 23.

⁹⁵ Scars, *A New Description*, 104; drunken fights, Moryson, III, 287 (JJ, 271); cf. Reresby, 137; Howell, *F.L.*, 128; *A New Description*, 104: "The debauching with brandy or strong beer generally occasions these quarrels; especially among them that get drunk with a sort of beer which is launted with urine and kept three or four weeks, which makes them in a manner stark mad for some hours"; Moryson, III, 199 (JJ, 263); Reresby, 137; cf. Barclay (English ed. 1631, 178); Mountague, 39: "Indeed strong and spirituous liquors seem to be the more necessary for, as well as natural to this nation – conducing mightily to the conservation of their health, which must needs be fluctuating where the air is so foul [...] Therefore their frequent tipping ought not to be charged on them as a crime, especially by a neighbouring nation, the English, who have a better country and a better air"; idem, 40: "They bumper it but seldom and at set and upon solemn occasions and then forbear a good while."

⁹⁶ Howell, 128; Veryard, 23; Plumer, 208v; Irwin, June 18, 1704; Reresby, 137; Moryson, III, 97 (JJ, 158); idem, III, 288 (JJ, 272-3); idem, Hughes, 382 (JJ, 299); Northleigh, 712.

⁹⁷ Aglionby, 230, when the Dutch are criticized for not punishing their children, they answer: "Does anybody spoil their own face, or cut off their own nose?"; Moryson, Hughes, 379; 384-5 (JJ, 296; 302); Bradford, 21, did not feel too happy about "the licentiousness of the young people of the country"; Ray, 47; Northleigh, 712.

⁹⁸ Cf. Dawes, 13r: "Where a woman lies in of a male child, the handle of the bell is covered with a cloth made in the shape of a boy with his secret part, if of a female it is covered with her shape and secrets"; cf. Browne, n. 240; monsters, Moryson, Hughes, 380-1 (JJ, 298); Howell, *F.L.*, 114; Veryard, 24.

⁹⁹ Fitzwilliam, 13r (Den Bosch); cf. Mountague, 225; cf. Dawes, 13r; quotation Brereton, 35; Veryard, 22; he adds: "for they still retain that custom, though it cost them dear"; Yonge, 102-3; Penson, 22v-23v; he adds: "Here is also to be noted that women do never go to funerals, no not so much as to those of their own children, as I have observed at the burial of a child. The coffin was covered with a piece of black cloth, which was set down in the midst with knots of black ribbon; the corpse was carried by a man in a mourning cloak, who was followed by two other men in mourning cloaks, and that was all" (Leeds MS., 36); cf. Carr, 29, who explains that people are sometimes late on purpose in order to pay a high fine, which went to the poor; more burials, Brereton, 35; Walker, 3; Talman, 1698, Diary, 18-9; Taylor (1707), 80; others on marriage, Moryson, Hughes, 379-80 (JJ, 296); Mundy, 76.

¹⁰⁰ Veryard, 23-4; Yonge, 104.

¹⁰¹ Brereton, 11-12; Penson, 13r; cf. Pepys, 149; he went into a pub and saw "a great many Dutch boors eating of fish in a boorish manner, but very merry in their way"; Southwell, 50.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Many seventeenth-century travellers on tour in Holland were members of the upper classes and made their journeys to broaden their horizons and get to know the civilized countries of Europe. They recorded their travels in carefully written journals, freely borrowing from guidebooks, which in turn were all heavily indebted to well-known descriptions of the United Provinces. The 50 or 60 British tourists who produced the finished travel journals we have studied visited the same sights as other foreigners, and generally described them in similar terms. The nationality and religion of the tourists account for only minor differences in appreciation. They praised the efficient system of transportation, the neatness of the public buildings and the industriousness of the Dutch people. Comments on the lack of religious feeling in the Dutch and disparaging remarks about Catholics are more often made by British travellers than by their Italian and French counterparts.¹

While going through these highly informative accounts, readers may be tempted to draw hasty conclusions about the tourist's personal feelings, or feel disappointed about the impersonal character of most of them, but it should be remembered that in the seventeenth century, a very personal tone is rare: impersonal narration seems to have been a requirement of the genre. Seventeenth-century readers of travels in Europe were not primarily interested in eyewitness accounts or in what had happened to the traveller. They expected well-documented information about foreign countries. When Edward Browne prepared his book for the press he made his text as relevant and interesting as possible by omitting almost all the personal details from his letters and by supplementing his own observations in the section on Holland by a mass of new information from printed sources.²

Holland was not a country about which an imaginative tourist could tell all sorts of fantastic stories, since a wealth of information about it was available in books. Most Britons setting out for Holland must already have had a rough idea of what they were going to see. Similarly the readers of their journals knew more or less what to expect. A certain amount of originality was possible though. The members of the

Royal Society, who published their travels, took care to include some original observation of a scientific nature, but many others did not succeed in being very creative. They leaned rather heavily on their guidebooks, from which they copied much reliable information on historical events, but occasionally errors as well (as for instance Northleigh, who trusted Guicciardini's assertion that David George was born at Delft). Books also provided travellers with a fair number of extraordinary stories like those about the miracle of Loosduinen, the mermaid found in the Haarlemmermeer and the storks at Delft which saved their young when the town was on fire.³

For an important category of tourists, the students, the finished travel account was one of the concrete results of the geographical, historical, political or scientific studies they had pursued abroad. The travellers had crossed the seas to learn, and were expected to collect information on the various countries they visited. Since, for their facts on Holland, they were mainly dependent on Dutch sources, it is hardly surprising that we rarely come across the polemic tone so common in pamphlets of that period, which show how divided British opinion was about Holland and the Dutch. It is true that a number of older travellers did express critical views with regard to Dutch trade, and Burnet and Shaw seem to have used travel correspondence as a vehicle for their political convictions, but this was far beyond what could be expected of the average traveller, student or adult, who reported on his reading and on what he had seen himself, and who did not go into "the causes" of things. Pamphlets, which unsuspecting readers may easily take for travel accounts because of their titles, constitute an entirely different genre and are characterized by personal convictions and not by geographical description.⁴

In Holland, British travellers saw a wealthy and prosperous country, where modern technology was used to great advantage. Mountague noted among many other things: "The Dutch are great improvers of land, and planters of trees, of ornament as well as profit." Hope and Brereton were impressed by the various sorts of mills, which operated with a minimum number of workers, and Southwell spent a whole morning inspecting the huge doors of a new dock at Flushing telling his father that it was a pity things like this could not yet be seen in England. Social conditions too seemed ideal in comparison with countries like France, Italy and Spain, but also in comparison with Britain itself. Neville wrote about the people at Alkmaar: "The common people [...] live so at their ease that it would make one hate

monarchy to see the liberty and peace they enjoy." Although the Dutch were often criticized for being bad-mannered, particularly towards visiting gentlemen, they were at the same time idealized as sober, hard-working people uncorrupted by the luxuries of modern civilization (the classic picture from Tacitus' *Germania*). Balthazar Gerbier neatly summarized his impressions: in Holland tourists could expect to see a people

who by labour, industry and indefatigable assiduity to attain to a settled being, have come the nearest to the great Maker, by raising something out of an almost nothing; to wit, a little very rich world out of moorish ground, mighty fair, populous, flourishing, well-built, and well fortified cities, and strongholds.⁵

This special character of Holland was once more brought home to travellers as soon as they had left the United Provinces. When they had crossed the frontiers they were struck by the poverty, not only in the Duke of Brandenburg's territories, where children could be seen begging along the highways, but also in the Southern Netherlands. A gentleman who travelled in Flanders in 1686, came to the same conclusion as Overbury eighty years earlier: "one finds the difference when one enters the Spanish dominions, by the multitude of beggars." Halfway between Antwerp and Maastricht Browne had to spend the night on straw and ran into a band of soldiers asking for money. This is how Farrington described his first impressions of northern Germany:

No longer the easy and convenient passing of the trekschuit. No more pleasant villages, fine plantations, nor more signs of plenty, but it is almost incredible Sir, how soon Scotland in its worst dress began to appear. The Dutch nicety was changed for the other extreme. The houses turned into hovels, people barefoot and barelegged, beggars in great numbers. No other place to eat or sleep in, but German stoves and no other manner of travelling but in open waggons!

When after his journey in Germany, Farrington came back in the United Provinces he had the impression of having returned into "the habitable part of the globe". The easy connections and the comfortable and safe transport in the trekschuiten must certainly have contributed to the views of Sir William Temple. According to him, Holland attracted "every day [large] numbers of curious and idle persons", since it was a country "where none that have time and money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel".⁶

NOTES

¹ Wander did not find that the nationality of travellers determined their views on Dutch cleanliness; Frank-Van Westrienen, 10, says that accounts of the Grand Tour made by British and Dutch travellers are very similar in character; Catholics, cf. reports of Venetian diplomats and French travellers.

² Schama's references to Aglionby, who simply translated Parival and others, are most unfortunate instances of this "psychological" approach, cf. 326: "Aglionby listened carefully, even though his Royal Society Baconian intellect was amused ..."; also Frank-Van Westrienen, cf. chap. 1, n. 48; Stewart, 273, says that eyewitness accounts were only accepted by some critics at the end of 18th century, certainly not at the beginning.

³ Northleigh, 704, cf. chap. 4, n. 9; Loosduinen etc., Veryard, 10-11; 7; 12.

⁴ Some examples of anti-Dutch bias: Rawdon and Anon. 1662, cf. chap. 4, p. 195; Amboyna, which is a standard topic in pamphlets (cf. Somers; *The Harleian Miscellany* and Knuttel) is rarely mentioned in travel accounts (e.g. Northleigh, 708); Temple, *Observations*, 95 refers to it without mentioning the name; the "characters" of Holland given by Feltham and Ward are called respectively *Three Weeks' Observation of the Vices and Virtues of the Inhabitants*, and *A Trip to Holland [...] Being a Description of the Country, People and Manners as Also Some Select Observations on Amsterdam*. The 1665 publication entitled *An Exact Survey of the Affaires of the United Provinces*, was really a very critical pamphlet about Holland (containing such chapters as "Their dealings towards the English" (Amboyna) and "Their perfidiousness" etc.) and not a geographical description as the 1673 book with that title; cf. Temple, 114: "But these and many other matters of speculation among them, filling the observations of all common travellers, shall make no part of mine, whose design is rather to discover the causes of their trade and riches, than to relate the effects."

⁵ Mountague, 70; Brereton, Hope, cf. chap. 3, pp. 146-47; Southwell, letters, 13/23 Aug.; cf. Bromley, 769, very negative about Spain and the Spaniards. Burnet critical of Italy; Shaw critical of France; Neville, 43; Gerbier, 18; cf. also Thomas Scott, passim and Defoe, *The Review*, 3-2 (Jan. 3, 1706): "The merchant makes a wet bog become a populous state; enriches beggars, ennobles mechanics, raises not families only, but towns, cities, provinces and kingdoms."

⁶ Browne, letter Oct. 23; cf. Overbury, 100: "As soon as I entered into the Archduke's country [...] I beheld [...] a province distressed with war, the people heartless [...] against their enemies"; Farrington, 6; 232; Brandenburg, cf. Locke, n. 46; Anon. 1686, 21r; Temple, 114.

APPENDIX I

EDWARD BROWNE'S JOURNEY OF 1668

INTRODUCTION

Life

Edward Browne (1644-1708) was the eldest son of Dr. (later Sir) Thomas Browne of Norwich, the celebrated author of *Religio medici*. In 1663 he graduated M.B. at Cambridge after which he spent more than a year (1664-65) travelling in France and Italy. He then went to Oxford where he took his M.D. in 1667 and was subsequently elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In the summer of 1668, the promising young man set out on a second journey, which took him through the Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Northern Greece. After his return home (Christmas 1669) he set up as a medical practitioner in London, eventually becoming physician to King Charles II and, in 1704, president of the Royal College of Physicians. Apart from his professional activities, he participated in the work of the Royal Society, made one more trip abroad (1673), and published accounts of his travels in Europe.¹

The journey of 1668-69

The journey of 1668-69 is well documented. Firstly there is the journal in which Edward jotted down from day to day brief notes about his itinerary, his lodgings, the sights and the names of some of the people he met. It was never meant to be a finished product but it provided him with much material for the long letters (about forty) he sent to his father, most of which have been preserved as well. Then there is a manuscript in the handwriting of Thomas Browne with copies of all the letters, including those we have not been able to trace (containing the account of Edward's journey in the United Provinces). There are also some letters Edward received from his father and two albums with prints and sketches. Finally there is the book Browne published in 1677, which, though mainly based on the letters and the journal, again provides us with some new material. All the documents

taken together give us an unusually detailed picture of the young scholar's journey in Europe.²

After Edward had taken his M.D., his father decided to enable him to make another (short) journey on the continent. As far as Dr. Browne was concerned, his son had already had ample opportunities for contacts with continental culture and science during his stay in France and Italy, three years previously, and only needed a few more months in the Low Countries and possibly in the main cultural centres of Germany to complement his knowledge of civilized Europe. Thomas Browne's financial resources were certainly not unlimited as he frequently reminded his son: "The money you took up is paid and though you have a letter of credit for a great sum yet, I conceive and hope you will take up but a part, for the year is spent and I would not have you make wide excursions." It was important that Edward should return quickly to settle down to his medical career. On December 2, Dr. Browne, whose second son Thomas had died in 1667 at the age of twenty, wrote to his son in Venice that further travel would be a waste of money and opportunities: "Make what convenient haste you can homewards and nearer England [...] Seriously I would not have you make excursions remote and chargeable. Consider how nearly it concerns you to be in your country, improving your time to what you intend and what most concerns you." Three weeks later, he wrote to Edward in Vienna: "no excursion into Poland, Hungary or Turkey [adds] advantage or reputation unto a scholar."³

From the correspondence it becomes clear that Edward saw his journey in a very different light. Not that he looked upon it as a pleasure trip. As on his earlier tour he seriously studied the geography and history of the places he travelled through and met many scholars, whose names might have been familiar to him from lectures at Oxford or his reading of the *Philosophical Transactions*. He never told his father explicitly how long he planned to stay abroad, but a few months after he had left home, in his letter from Frankfort, he wrote: "I hope it will not be displeasing to you if I stay abroad two or three months longer." He tactfully added a reference to the university where his father had taken his M.D. in 1633: "If I come down the Rhine again, I think to stay at Leiden a month." However, it was not medical studies that kept him on the continent until December 1669 but an interest in geology, which he shared with Newton and other members of the Royal Society. Far from proving a waste of time, as his father had expected, his journey in central Europe enabled Edward to make

a name for himself as a scholar. The letters he sent to the Royal Society in the summer of 1669, in which he reported on the mountain area between Vienna and Venice, appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 13 Dec. 1669. His answers to a list of very specific questions the Society had addressed to him were printed in nr. 58, followed, in the next issue, by an account of the mines in Hungary.⁴

The journey through the United Provinces

The first full entry in Edward's journal (dated August 8 O.S.), is a recipe for roast mutton⁵ which may well have been served at his farewell dinner on Saturday 8 or Sunday 9 August. On Monday 10 (20 N.S.) he would have set out for Yarmouth, where Sir James Johnson, a local merchant and an acquaintance of his father's, provided him with letters of credit for Amsterdam, Frankfort, Vienna and Venice. As strong winds made it unsafe for small boats to venture out to sea, Edward was obliged to wait, and in the course of the week he received two letters, which his father had written on Wednesday and Thursday. Dr. Browne appeared anxious about his son's welfare, hoped he had enough money to last him till Amsterdam, reminded him to practise his Latin abroad and made the suggestion that Edward should also study and collect wild plants. On Friday at six o'clock in the evening, the gale had sufficiently calmed down for the ship to weigh anchor, and with a good wind it made the crossing to Rotterdam in exactly 24 hours. As soon as he was able (on Monday 27) Edward reported that he had arrived safely, had met nice people and did not regret having left home.⁶

His lengthy stay in Rotterdam, almost five days, was clearly due to the hospitality of Mr. Panser, a Dutch merchant who had lived in England, and it was only in the evening of August 30 that Edward arrived in Delft. The next morning, he must have spent one or two hours sightseeing before taking the boat for The Hague. Most of his time there was taken up by a visit to Scheveningen, where Charles II had embarked for England in 1660. Unlike most tourists, he did not go to Loosduinen to look at the inscription with the story of the countess; maybe he did not share his father's interest in medical miracles.⁷ Anyway, in the evening he embarked for Leiden and on arriving there he accompanied a fellow Briton to Alphen, where he stayed the weekend. On Monday September 3, he saw the usual sights: the Burcht, the anatomy theatre, the physic garden and the collection of "rarities", and put up at the English coffeehouse for the

night. On Tuesday he visited Haarlem with a German officer, and in the evening of September 4 he arrived in Amsterdam where, like many other British travellers, he took lodgings at the White Hart near the Old Church.⁸

In Amsterdam he went to see a great many places of interest, often in the company of fellow countrymen, among them Mr. Vernon, Mr. Preston and a Mr. Couldham, with whom he dined on board a merchant vessel from Yarmouth on September 7. He again met Mr. Panser of Rotterdam, who enabled him to see the Admiralty building and who introduced him to Dr. Visscher. This physician, who was the same age as Edward, took him to several scholars of note: the anatomist Dr. Ruysch, Jan Swammerdam, the physicist, and the chemist Glauber. After two weeks, on Tuesday September 18, Edward left for Utrecht, where the next morning he went sightseeing. He also had the opportunity to meet several well-known scholars, among whom Gisbertus Voetius, the famous professor of theology. In the afternoon he continued his journey and, after six or seven hours in a boat, arrived at Gorkum, where he spent the night. On Thursday September 20, he took the night boat for 's Hertogenbosch, arriving early in the morning at the opening of the gates. He walked about on the fortifications, inspected the citadel and copied two long inscriptions in the church. Around noon he must have taken a waggon for Breda (8 hours distant), where he put up at the English house. On Saturday morning he visited the sights, particularly the fortifications, and in the afternoon he travelled via Geertruidenberg to Dordrecht.

Here Edward stayed two days, wrote a long letter about his visit to Amsterdam and got himself invited to dinner with one of the English merchants; he also had supper with their minister of religion. On Tuesday he must have had a propitious passage to Veere in Zeeland, for he apparently arrived in Middelburg the same evening. The next day he went sightseeing and was invited by Mr. Hill, the English minister, to stay for dinner, during which the conversation must have run on recent social and political events, particularly we presume the surprise visit of the Prince of Orange a week previously. The next morning, Browne's trip to Flushing lasted longer than planned, which made him miss the boat for Antwerp. He used his leisure time to write another letter to his father in which he continued the story of his journey up to his visit to Breda. On Friday he embarked for Antwerp, where (after an overnight stay at the frontier fortress of Lillo) he arrived on Saturday, September 29. In the evening he took the

night boat for Brussels, which he visited on Sunday from five o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening. He did not particularly relish the idea of spending the night in a place where so many houses were infected with the plague. When, the next day (in Antwerp again), he wrote to his father, he mentioned the fact that he had not changed his clothes since he had been in Zeeland. On Thursday, October 4 he finally took his leave of Antwerp to make the long journey to Maas-tricht, where he only arrived on Saturday morning. On Sunday morning he left the southernmost town belonging to the United Provinces, made a brief stop at Aix la Chapelle (Aachen) and reached Cologne on October 10.

The correspondence

While abroad, Edward wrote at least once a fortnight but sometimes as often as twice a week, respectfully addressing his letters to "my honoured father Dr. Thomas Browne". He scarcely dealt with personal matters concerning his health, his reading or his lodgings but mainly reported on the itinerary, the sights and his visits to scholars. He knew that the journey represented a financial strain on his father and did his best to give him the impression that he was not wasting his time in unimportant places. In his letter from Amsterdam for example, he suggests that he spent most of the weekend of 1-2 September at Leiden and that the excursion to Alphen had only been a daytrip. He knew what his father would like to hear from him, and even before he had received his father's letter with queries, he reported on Dr. De Bils' method of preserving dead bodies (30r), the construction of sea banks (34r) and the new geographical discoveries made by the Dutch (28v-29r). He had not anticipated all the questions though, for he wrote from Frankfort: "If I go to Amsterdam again I will enquire after Helvetius. Dr. Visscher will be able to inform me concerning him."⁹

All the letters written by Thomas Browne show the degree to which he felt involved in his son's journey. On 22 September, when he was writing to Frankfort, Edward's letter from Dordt arrived to which his father responded: "I [...] am exceeding glad to see how God has blessed you and that you have had advantages beyond expectation. Your accounts are very good of all things, God bless you." He was pleased that his son had managed to get into the Admiralty building at Amsterdam, that he had met so many famous scholars and that he "took note of so many particularities". He expressed the opinion that

Edward had been lucky to meet Mr. Vernon, with whom he could practise his Latin and Italian. In later letters also we find fatherly advice and encouragement, and although Dr. Browne did not feel too happy about his son's long absence, he gave him several hints about books he should read to make his journey more profitable.¹⁰

From letters to book

After Edward had returned home, his father and his friends, who were pleased with the success of his scientific publications, urged him to commit to paper more of his observations "concerning countries travelled by so few". When the project had got under way, his father, who had already done a lot of preparatory reading himself, suggested titles of books in which more information could be found. He advised Edward not to overemphasize the scientific descriptions and to put in picturesque details about each country. Many historical anecdotes and "narrative observations" were readily available in the letters, to which Thomas Browne had already added some material of his own while making the copies. The drawings his daughter Betty had made after Edward's original sketches might eventually prove useful too. They decided it would be best to contact a well-established publisher. The book describing Edward's travels in central and eastern Europe appeared in 1673 and also contained the politically topical narrative of his more recent trip through Flanders to Cologne, to which city he had accompanied Sir Leoline Jenkins and Sir Joseph Williamson, the English plenipotentiaries to the peace negotiations. Edward continued working on his other travel accounts and in 1677 a sequel was published, which included *A Journey from Norwich to Colen in Germany*, describing his 1668 tour through the United Provinces.¹¹

From this book it would appear that Browne had read most of the publications on the United Provinces of the 1660s and early 70s and, in composing his own book, he consciously avoided dealing with the same subjects as his fellow authors. William Temple (1672) had dealt with the government and history of Holland and had added several chapters on the people and their customs; the French scholars Monconys (1666) and Sorbière (1664) had emphasized their contacts with academics and their visits to collections of natural curiosities; and finally "the learned Mr. Ray" (1673), a Fellow of the Royal Society, whom Browne had met "in divers places abroad", had given much up-to-date information on travelling and on the cities (their government, religion and industries, but not much about their history). In his

preface Browne stated that politics and government had sufficiently been dealt with by others and that he would concentrate on what was "naturally, artificially, historically and topographically remarkable". The latter two aspects especially determine the character of his account of the United Provinces.¹²

The copies of the original letters, which served as a framework, were thoroughly revised. Much material was left out, particularly matters regarding himself, his family and friends (when copying the letters Thomas Browne had already left much out) and his acquaintances in Holland (Mr. Panser; Mr. Vernon; Dr. Visscher). The many references to Norwich together with unreliable notes (e.g. Tripoli House, 29r) were also omitted as were the passage on the camera obscura (26v), which was no longer a novelty in 1677, other detailed descriptions of a technical nature (the respiration experiment, 30r; the chimes, 29r-v) and the remarks about modern industry at Alphen (25-26r). The tone of some of the references to people was adapted. Glauber was no longer "a little old, whiteheaded, paralytical man, who understands but little Latin" (29v), but simply "old Glauber, the chemist" and Sir James Johnson, the banker in Yarmouth was referred to as "that worthy and obliging person [who had] nobly entertained" him. Much material was added. The descriptions of the cities were brought in line with contemporary descriptive practice, and public buildings and monuments were far more extensively dealt with than in the letters. To provide variety, Browne gave an eyewitness account of a whipping at Haarlem and included remarks on new discoveries, recently published books, tall people and unicorns.¹³

However, the new material was mainly of a historical nature, with a full page on Amsterdam in earlier centuries (95-96) and lengthy references to the war with Spain in the accounts of Haarlem, Leiden and Breda. Browne also printed the story of Heemskerck's ill-fated voyage to the East Indies, which resulted in him having to spend the winter on Nova Zembla in 1594 (97). The book mentioned several Englishmen who had played a part in Dutch history, among them Willebrord, the first bishop of Utrecht, Hengist the Saxon, who founded the Burcht at Leiden and Sir Philip Sidney, the first English governor of Flushing. One of the more recent events Browne mentioned was the explosion of Admiral Obdam's ship in 1665, "fighting against his Royal Highness the Duke of York, now King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, etc., who thus early exposed his life to these extreme hazards for the safety of England and his other King-

doms". As in the letters to his father, he did not refer to the less glorious events of 1666 involving the Royal Charles, whose lantern he had seen in the Admiralty building in Amsterdam, but he did touch upon the 1672 campaign of Louis XIV. It looked as if an inscription on the watergate at Gorkum had predicted the fact that the King's armies would not be able to pass beyond that point. Several other inscriptions were added as well, usually Latin distichs, most of which Edward copied from his journal. In the 1685 edition three more inscriptions were printed: those concerning Scaliger and Clusius from the French church in Leiden and a Dutch one from the church in Haarlem. Browne did not insert the better known (much longer) inscriptions on the memorials at Loosduinen and Delft, which had been printed by Ray.¹⁴

When Browne was transforming his letters into a book, his journal proved a useful source of information on various sights, on customs in Zeeland and the inscriptions in Utrecht, Gorkum and Breda. The description of the whipping at Haarlem together with some other details may have been taken from letters (not traced) addressed to other correspondents, but the bulk of the supplementary material was carefully selected, translated or adapted from guidebooks, books on geography and works written by other travellers. During his stay in Holland, he presumably had with him Hegenitius and Parival, works which paid much attention to monuments, inscriptions and the history of the cities. From the letters, it appears that Browne actually used them and in his own book he mentioned both titles. From Hegenitius he took some remarks on the history of Dordt and Haarlem, and an inscription in Dutch. This Latin guidebook also helped him with his account of the churches at Delft, the stadhuis in Leiden and the inscriptions in the French church there. (The text on a medal commemorating the breaking up of the Spanish siege in 1574 may have been taken from Charles Patin, another guidebook.) Parival provided the facts on John of Leyden and the Burcht. For his account of Amsterdam, Browne was particularly indebted to this author. Browne summarized his survey of the history of the city and translated his report on the voyages of Barentz and Heemskerck, the attempt on the town by the Anabaptists in 1535, and his remarks on the Rasphuis and Spinhuis.¹⁵

Since neither Hegenitius nor Parival dealt with the cities in Utrecht, Zeeland and Brabant, Browne resorted to the 1660 edition of the classic description of the Low Countries by Guicciardini. From it he

took the paragraphs on the rivers Maas and Schelde and that on the ancient government of Zeeland. He also translated some passages on the Roman fort near Katwijk and the history of The Hague and Utrecht. Another book he used was Peter Heylyn's *Cosmography* (1652), a geographical compilation much indebted to Guicciardini for its section on Holland. It was in his father's library and proved very useful in preparing his accounts of 's-Hertogenbosch, Breda and Flushing and gave him a ready-made passage in English on the ancient Lords of Gorkum. From Ray, he copied a sentence on the seabanks in Zeeland and a whole paragraph on the knights of the Golden Fleece in the church at 's-Hertogenbosch. The inaccurate statement that the synod of Dordt had taken place in 1611 may equally have been taken from Ray.¹⁶

The picture we get of Holland from Browne's book is highly appreciative. He adopted the attitude of the traveller who is filled with admiration and does not feel inclined to criticize. In his book there are no references to overcharging landlords, incompetent actors, immoral music houses and natives who are only interested in money and do not care about religion. Browne's account reflects the tone set by Guicciardini and echoed by a host of Dutch authors, including Parival, that of praise, and it was in words slightly reminiscent of Temple that Browne concluded his remarks on the Province of Holland.¹⁷

The reception of the book

Browne's first book, *A Brief Account of Some Travels*, which appeared in 1673, was translated into French (1674) and reprinted in 1679. This success encouraged him to publish a sequel, *An Account of Several Travels* (1677), which contained his journey through Holland. A collected edition with minor changes, entitled *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Divers Parts of Europe*, came out in 1685 and was reprinted in 1687. John Harris adapted the text for his *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* of 1705 (vol. II, pp. 501-46; repr. 1744-48 and 1764). The Dutch version, from which the German translation was made (1685; 1686; 1711), appeared in 1682 (2nd enlarged ed. 1696). It was an "improved" edition, for Browne's errors had been corrected and much material (especially inscriptions and notes on public buildings) had been added, so that for Dutch readers the book became a complete guide to the places Browne had visited.¹⁸

Browne's travels were well received by the critics. A friendly abstract, which praised his account of the mines in Hungary, appeared

in the *Philosophical Transactions* (1673). His second book also received favourable reviews; the *Philosophical Transactions* referred to two "rarities" he had mentioned in his account of Holland: the lymphatic vessels "so preserved as to see the valves in them", which he had seen with Dr. Ruysch in Amsterdam, and a throne built of sea unicorns' horns. The review in the *Acta eruditorum* (1692) devoted half a page to what Browne had written on Holland. It complimented him on the historical information he provided on Amsterdam and Utrecht and quoted the distich on the pillar in the English church there. The Dutch reviewer in the *Boekzaal* (1697) especially liked the description of the quarries in St. Pietersberg near Maastricht and stated that Browne had written nothing less than the simple truth about Holland. Richards, Blainville (who was very critical) and other travellers used him to write their journals. Authors of guidebooks (1714; 1743) made extensive borrowings from Browne, and as late as 1767 his passages on the Spinhuis and the Rasphuis at Amsterdam were printed in a collection of travel accounts. Scholars felt that the work provided them with a hoard of useful information: William Nicolson asked Browne permission to quote him for his volume of *The English Atlas* and John Locke wrote in his introduction to Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*:

The author, a doctor of physic, has showed himself excellently qualified for a traveller by this ingenious piece, in which he has omitted nothing worthy the observation of so curious a person, having spent much time in the discovery of European rarities; and that in those parts which are not the common track of travellers, who content themselves with seeing France and Italy and the Low Countries; whereas his relation is of Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Friuli; adding to these Germany, the Low Countries and a great part of Italy, of all which he has composed a work of great use and benefit.¹⁹

Fifty years later, when usefulness was still an important requirement for travel accounts, other standards were increasingly being applied. Samuel Johnson, who had translated a book of travels from the French and who was to publish his own *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* in 1775, was very ironic about Browne's work. In his *Life of Sir Thomas Browne* (1756), Edward is briefly mentioned as the author of a travel account which was

written with scrupulous and exact veracity, such as is scarcely to be found in any other book of the same kind. But whatever it may contribute to the instruction of a naturalist, I cannot recommend it as likely to give much pleasure to the common reader: for whether it be that the world is very uniform, and therefore he who is resolved to adhere to truth will have few novelties to relate, or that Dr. Browne was by the train of his studies led to inquire most after those things by which the greatest part of mankind is little affected; a great part of his book seems to contain very unimportant accounts of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another place where he saw no more.²⁰

Browne represented for Johnson the typical seventeenth-century scientist, who had not sufficiently mingled "pleasure with instruction", who made "a show of knowledge", copied "inscriptions elegant and rude, ancient and modern" and commented on "large numbers of buildings sacred or civil". According to Johnson, the reading public in the second half of the eighteenth century expected a traveller to "offer new images to his reader and enable him to form a tacit comparison of his own state with that of others". Readers wanted a traveller to give them the impression that he or she "had copied nature from the life" and not from books. These remarks perfectly illustrate that a change in taste had taken place. Johnson clearly was no longer sensitive to the literary methods of Browne and his contemporaries, who had produced very impersonal accounts because their readers expected learned information. In order to provide variety, authors had relied on historical anecdotes and all sorts of erudite digressions, consciously avoiding the insertion of light-hearted incidents. Browne's letters and his travel books are characteristic examples of this seventeenth-century literary genre.²¹

A note on the dating

The journal with its daily entries (except for the period of Sept. 28 to Oct. 3, during which he did not write) provides the most reliable information about Browne's movements in Holland. His obvious errors (from Thursday 13 to Monday 24 September) are here preceded by the correct date between square brackets []. The dates on the letters do not look very reliable, which may be due to incorrect copying (e.g. in Thomas Browne's copybook, 36r, Edward's letter from Frankfort, Letter VI, is dated 1688). The first two letters are dated in both the new and the old style; however, the difference, which should be ten days, is only nine. The letter from Rotterdam

(dated August 26 N.S. and August 17 O.S.), which contains the sentence, "On Sunday Mr. Hill preached", was probably not written on Sunday, so the date in the old style, i.e. Monday, August 17, would seem to be plausible. In the letter from Amsterdam, Browne mentioned his visit to Dr. Ruysch (26v), which took place on Sept. 14 (journal), so he may either have written the letter on the same day (Sept. 14 N.S.) or the day after (Sept. 5 O.S.). The letter from Dordt is dated Sept. 27, which is impossible, as Browne was in Middelburg on that day. However, the reference "this day I dine with Mr. Smith" seems to point to Sept. [24], when according to his journal he had dinner with this gentleman. The letter from Middelburg (dated Sept. 28) was written on the day of his visit to Flushing (30v), which according to the journal was on Sept. 27. The dates on the letters from Antwerp and Frankfort may well be correct.

A note on the text

The first four letters have been transcribed from Thomas Browne's copybook, those written at Antwerp and Frankfort from the originals (cf. n. 2). Brief passages from the letters can be found in Sir Thomas Browne's *Works*, eds. London, 1836, vol. I, 154-56, and London, 1852, vol. III, 425-27; the journal has never been printed before.

A comparison between the original letters and the copies made by Thomas Browne shows that the copyist allowed himself a fair amount of freedom, often changing a word or part of a sentence in order to improve the text. The phrase in which Mr. Hill is mentioned, "Middelburg, where Mr. Hill is minister. He was very obliging", was changed into: "Middelburg, where Mr. Hill, the minister, was exceedingly obliging" (33v). In other places Thomas Browne added material of his own. The most telling passage is the one on Dordt, about which Edward wrote: "At Dordt there is little remarkable but its situation." His father "copied" it as follows: "In the maiden city of Dordt there is little more remarkable than its situation, like a swan's nest" (33r), which phrase eventually found its way into Edward's book (p. 106). His father left out passages containing personal matters, as for instance in the letter from Antwerp, most of the passage on Mrs. Waldegrave, the reference to the gazette and the greetings to relatives and friends. In other places it looks as if he was tired and made mistakes. When Thomas Browne noticed that he had skipped a whole sentence at the beginning of the letter from Middelburg, he crossed out everything and started all over again. There are also errors attribu-

table to careless writing (e.g. the omission or addition of the plural s), some of which were rectified in Edward's book. One error which seems to have got through, is the reference to new discoveries to the northwest of Japan (29r). In his journal Edward had written northeast, Sept. [14].

Passages from Browne's printed sources and his book are provided in the footnotes, to give the reader an impression of his method of writing. Other tourists, particularly Browne's contemporaries Skippon and Fitzwilliam, have been quoted in order to put Browne's observations into perspective and provide a fuller picture of what British tourists saw in Holland.

The journal has been inserted into the letters so that corresponding passages are found together; this could be done with almost no interference with its chronological order, except for the entries of September 7 in the letter from Amsterdam, and those of September [17], [16], [13] in the letter from Dordt.

Spelling and punctuation have been modernized; erasures have been omitted. The spelling of personal and geographical names in most instances conforms to present-day Dutch usage, which, in places where Browne's spelling has been retained, is given between [] or in a footnote. Den Haag, Vlissingen and the river Rijn are always referred to by their English names: The Hague, Flushing and the Rhine. The various spellings for town hall have been reduced to *stadhuis* and *stadhouse*, but other words in Dutch are given in Browne's original spelling.

Braces { } in the text mark passages in the letters and the journal which Browne did not print in his book (1677). Dates (and occasionally words) which do not appear in the manuscript texts are given between square brackets [...].

NOTES

¹ Cf. Keynes, *The Works*, IV, 26; Beckmann, II, 238-63; Munk, I, 372-77; *DNB*; it is not likely that Browne matriculated at Leiden in 1670 (cf. Smith, 32) as there is no reference to it in his father's letter of 29 July 1670.

² Thomas Browne's letters are in Keynes, IV; most MSS are in the BL: journal (MS Sloane 1908), original letters (MSS Sloane 1911-12; Bod. Lib., MS Rawlinson, Letters 58, 52r-53v, Antwerp, 1 Oct.), copies (MS Sloane 1861), albums (MS Add. 5233-34; only one print is related to his trip in Holland: "Perfecte Afbeeldinge van 't wonderlijcke schip gemaakt tot Rotterdam" (1653), (MS Add. 5233, 6; Muller nr. 2086); Fraser, 93v, saw it in Amsterdam, cf. chap. 3, p. 133.

³ Keynes, IV, letters 22 Sept., 2 Dec., 21 Dec.; cf. 15 Dec.: "We all wish you in England or nearer it"; in Holland Browne spent about 5 guilders a day. On 8 Sept. he received 252 guilders, which had almost run out on 23 Oct.; cf. n. 247.

⁴ BL, MS Sloane 1911, 4r (letter from Frankfort); mines, Newton, I, 11; cf. journal, Sept. 23; *Philosophical Transactions*, 54, 58 (April, 1670), 59 (23 May, 1670).

⁵ Journal, 4r: "Take a leg of mutton, roast it gently and stove it that the gravy may come out and so again till it will run. Then take the gravy and separate the fat by cooling. Then put thereto a quarter of a nutmeg, a small sprig of rosemary and a little thyme. Set it upon a gentle fire and add unto it two spoonfuls of claret and a little salt. You may if you please, beat up the yolk of an egg therewith and take ten or twelve spoonfuls."

⁶ Sir James Johnson (1615-at least 1688), merchant and alderman of Yarmouth, cf. *Commons*; cf. Keynes, IV, letters Aug. 12 and 13: "If your bill of credit be at Amsterdam I know not whether you have money enough with you to carry you thither, being to land in Rotterdam"; Thomas Browne was then engaged in a correspondence on wild plants with Dr. Merritt, cf. Wilkin, III, 502ff. (1852 ed.); cf. Van der Goes, I, 501: "There has now been continual rain and wind for more than a fortnight" (The Hague, 24 Aug.).

⁷ Cf. Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, book VII, chap. 2: "And therefore, though wondrous strange, it may not be impossible what's confirmed at Lausdun concerning the countess of Holland."

⁸ On the cover of the journal, 100v: "M. Woode, in de Witte Hartt bij de Oude Kerk - dichtbij de Warmerstraet" (not in Edward's handwriting).

⁹ Cf. MS Sloane 1911, 4v: "These for my honoured father Dr. Thomas Browne, to be left with ms. Anne Browne at Esq. Barker his house in Clarkenwell near New Prison, London, in Engelandt"; Alphen cf. letters, 25 and journal, Aug. 31; cf. Keynes, IV, letter 22 Sept.: "When you were at Amsterdam I wish you had enquired after Dr. Helvetius, who wrote Vitulus Aureus, and saw projection made and had pieces of gold to show of it [...] One told me he read in the French Gazette that the Dutch had discovered the north-east passage to China round about Tartary [...] If you have opportunity you may observe how the Dutch make defences against sea inundations. Observe the several fish and fowl in markets and their names. We have not heard a long time of Lewis de Bils his practice of preserving bodies etc. What esteem have they of Van Helmont in Brabant his own country?"; MS Sloane 1911, 4v.

¹⁰ Cf. Keynes, IV, letter 2 Dec.: "I wish you had met with Heylyn or some short description and division of those countries as you travelled, and if you have not, do it yet, for that may produce a rational knowledge of them, confirmed by sense, and give you a distinct apprehension of Germany, which to most proves the most intricate of any in Europe."

¹¹ Cf. Keynes, IV, letter 8 June 1670: "Now at leisurable times you must think of historical and narrative observations concerning your last travels; [...] your letters will afford many, beside such as you have not set down, and particular passages will be pleasing and somewhat instructive, and the draughts of things which Betty drew will help much"; Thomas Browne's additions and improvements, cf. Note on the text, *infra*; cf. also the letters of July 29, 1670 and Dec. 1, 1671; cf. A. Löffler; Browne, 111.

¹² Browne, 101; title page 1685; cf. Preface 1677: "My aim is not to write much about policy and state government of places, which have been so largely delivered."

¹³ Glauber, 100; Johnson, 91; discoveries, 99; books: Lady Newcastle's *Blazing New World* (97), Mons. Martinière, *A Voyage into the Northern Countries* (99), Ray, *Observations* (101); whipping, 95; tall people, 92; unicorns, 101-02.

¹⁴ Obdam: when after 1689 Browne, who had many patients in court circles, revised the text for a new edition, the suppression of this compliment was the only significant change he made; cf. the 1685 ed. interleaved with MS notes in the library of the Royal College of Surgeons, cat. 5552; his remark on Gorkum was borrowed by Timaretes, 231-32 (Finch, 15); cf. n. 176.

¹⁵ Other letters, cf. Thomas Browne, Sept. 22: "Nancy writ me word that she received a letter from you"; Dec. 2, 1668: "Lady Maidstone was well satisfied with your letter"; his sister's P.S. to the letter of 15 Dec.: "My Lady Maidstone was much delighted with your letter", cf. n. 192; two copies of Hegenitius (1630; 1667) are in the sales catalogue (Finch, 16A, 58), Parival was not; letters influenced by these guidebooks, cf. n. 37, 54; Hegenitius and Parival mentioned, cf. n. 73, 93; Dordt, cf. Hegenitius, 93; Haarlem, cf. idem, 43-7; Delft, cf. idem, 90; Leiden, cf. idem, 57, 75 and Parival, 46, 74-76; Amsterdam, cf. Parival, 88-93, 210-19, 96-97; Ch. Patin (1673), 207, or J.J. Luckius, *Sylloge numismatum elegantior* (1620; Finch, 5); Browne, 94: "afterwards [they] coined a memorial medal with this inscription, Ut Senacherib à Jerusalem, sic Hispani à Leyda noctu fugerunt. 1574" (Van Loon, I, 194-95).

¹⁶ Guicciardini (poss. in Finch, p. 16A, *Reipubl. Belgar. foed. descr. cum itinerariis*; Von Zesen's *Leo Belgicus* does not contain descriptions of cities), rivers, I, 22-24; Zeeland, III, 167-68, 180; The Hague, III, 135-36; fort, III, 140; Utrecht, III, 198-99, 202; Heylyn, cf. Finch, 44, (references to the 1677 ed.); 's Hertogenbosch, 323; Breda, 323 (turfboat); Flushing, 328; Gorkum, 326; Ray, Zeeland, 20, cf. n. 232; 's Hertogenbosch, 42; Dordt, 21.

¹⁷ Browne saw a play in Rotterdam but did not comment on the quality of the acting; he was very positive about the music houses, cf. n. 105; cf. Parival's title: "Oeuvre Panégyrique" and p. 22: "Ceux qui y ont fait un long séjour et auront aussi vu d'autres provinces, diront avec moi en chantant ses louanges que les Pays Bas sont la bague d'Europe, et la Hollande en est la pierre"; conclusion, cf. Browne, 102-03, quoted in *The Present State* (1743-45), 348, and in chap. 1, p. 49.

¹⁸ Cf. Cox, I, 88, 108 and Beckmann, II, 238-63; Hooke, 256, bought it in 1676 for 4s. 2d; Browne's errors, e.g. n. 2, ships; n. 184, wrong date; n. 194, wrong name; errors in Dutch translation, cf. n. 139; translator's additions not always correct, cf. next note.

¹⁹ *Philosophical Transactions*, 94 (1673); 130 (14 Dec. 1676), which reviews the book; *Acta eruditorum*, 1 (1692, suppl.), 344; *Boekzaal* (March/April 1697), 302; Elias Ashmole complimented Thomas Browne on his son's book (Bod. Lib., MS Ashm. 1131, 322a, 26 Nov. 1674); Richards (1685), on Rotterdam and Dordt; Anon. 1690, 4, in French, on Haarlem including the description of the whipping; Blainville, who apparently used the Dutch edition did not realize the details he criticized, had been added by Browne's translator: "Rotterdam signifies the mole or rampart of the river Rotte. I should not have made this observation [...] if Edward Browne, a learned English physician, had not said that it derived its name from one Rotterus, King of the French [whose name] is not to be found, neither in the fabulous nor in the true chronology of the Kings of France" (I, 2); on the Damiata bells at Haarlem: "Edward Browne, a physician and member of the Royal Society at London, says that these bells were of silver. But with submission to those gentlemen-travellers, if I am not mista-

ken, the use of bells was unknown to the Saracens" (28); Chancel (1714), cf. n. 101; *The Present State*, 1743; *A New Collection*, IV, 204; *The English Atlas*, II (Oxford, 1681), *Description of Germany* by William Nicolson, the letter is in the Bod. Lib. (MS Rawl. D. 391, nr. 34); A. and J. Churchill, I, xcii; cf. also Hearne, I, 301: "Edward Browne of Merton College D.M. He has writ travels, a book which bears a good character."

²⁰ Fleeman, 450-51.

²¹ Cf. S. Johnson, *A Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735), Preface, 3: the author "appears by his modest and unaffected narration to have described things as he saw them, to have copied nature from the life and to have consulted his senses not his imagination"; the other quotations are from an essay on travel books in *The Idler*, 97 (23 Feb. 1760); cf. also Curley, 56.

THE LETTERS

[Letters I-IV, BL MS Sloane 1861; indented: journal, BL MS Sloane 1908]

LETTER I

<22> Rotterdam, August [27] 26, Styl. novo, 1668

Honoured Sir,

We set sail from Yarmouth on Friday at 6 in the afternoon and leaving the St. Nicholas Sands and afterwards the Nowl (which is a new sand) on the starboard side, and the next day by ten in the morning discovered Gravesandt steeple. About the beginning of the night the sea burned at the head of the ship but the moon rising it appeared plain froth, {yet some time after, the sparks seemed to go out like falling stars}.

<5r> Friday August 14, 1668 hor. 6 p.m.

I came aboard the Angel, ketch of 55 tons burden. We set sail for Rotterdam, left St. Nicholas Sand on the larboard, after that the Nowles, a new sand raised within these 12 years. Kept our course all night east and by south (ESE). {A ketch has two masts and a bowsprit, no mizzen; the jib and the staysail are over the bowsprit fastened to the main mast, the sprit-sail under the bowsprit}. It is 28 leagues from Lowestoft point to 's-Gravenzande and the deepest part of the sea 28 fathom water. The sea burned at the head of the ship at the beginning of the night but the moon rising it appeared more plainly froth.

Next to 's Gravenzande steeple we discovered Goeree and Den Briel, then the land and entered the Maas {at thirteen foot water, we kept the buoys on the landboard at coming in}. The greatest depth of the sea between England and Holland is 28 fathoms and the distance betwixt the two nearest points 28 leagues.¹ Our passage on the river was pleasant, not for many ships in it (though here lay two of the biggest and last built {of above a hundred guns apiece})², but for the pretty towns, handsome rows of trees near the shore.³ We arrived

<23r> at Rotterdam a little after 6 o'clock on Saturday and saw part of the Kermis.⁴

<5v> August the 15 St.V./25 St.N.

{We made and overtook a North Sea busse laden with herring}. We came in sight of 's Gravensande steeple, took in a pilot⁵; saw next Goeree steeple, then Den Briel {and so leaving the buoys on the star-board} we entered the Maas {at 13 foot water}. Left many pretty towns as Maassluis, Schiedam, Delfshaven and came to Rotterdam in the time of their kermis, about half seven at night. {Lie at Mr. Smith's at the English coffeehouse in the Hoghtuin}.⁶ We saw Erasmus' statue on the bridge. The country house in this city has a fair front.⁷

{On Sunday Mr. Hill preached at the English church, who was proctor in Cambridge in my time}.⁸ The Great Church is very high and stately, the organs in it and the monument of Admiral De With are remarkable.⁹ {The Arminian churches are much thronged.¹⁰ I was at one with Mr. Panser, a Dutchman who has lived in England and is very civil unto me.}¹¹ The cleanness and neatness of this town is so new unto me that it affords great satisfaction, most persons going about the streets in white slippers. The houses {are covered with a kind of marble and there are also good number of coaches}.¹²

<5v cntd> August 26

{Mr. Hill preached at the English church}. The great church in which the tower, the organs <6r> and the monument of De With, {the Arminian church}, the pleasure boats of the States¹³, {the house for ammunition¹⁴, the baptizing 2 children, the floors everywhere paved with marble. Mr. Panser}.

Erasmus his statue is {the only thing in this town which is not bright and clean.¹⁵ Our fine passage and this first town makes me already pity those I left behind. I was the only passenger not sick}.

August 17, Styl. vet. 1668

Ed. Browne

LETTER II

<23v> Amsterdam, 5 September [O.S.]

Sir,

{I take this opportunity to write unto you by Mr. Couldham¹⁶, who has been ready to do me all manner of kindness. I dined with him one day aboard captain Cox in the Concord, the best merchant ship belonging to Yarmouth and now bound hither from Venice.¹⁷ I took off some barnacles that grow roundabout here near the water}. I have already seen the Spinhouse, the Rasphouse, the hospital for old men, children and mad people, the house wherein the East-India stores are, the great East-India ships, their men of war {but concerning these and my journey from Rotterdam thither, I shall God willing give you a further account.¹⁸

September 7, Friday <9r>

The Spinhouse, the place where they sat working, the partitions, {she with amber bracelets}¹⁹; the bedlam; the hospital for six hundred children, {their sitting down to dinner, their beds and chambers}²⁰; the Rasphuis, where they rasp brazilwood naked; the old men's house; {dined aboard the Concord, master Cox of Yarmouth, great cabin, the barnacles on the outside of the ship}.

{I have sent home by captain Cox his ship some prints and books as Corneille's comedies, the Dutch Ambassador's voyage into China and some small books.²¹ Here is a strange variety of excellent prints. I would not buy of the French prints because they are better to be had at Paris. Here are divers good ones of Rembrandt and some upon Indian paper that look like washing, though scratched after his manner. Here are also prints of old masters and originals but so extraordinary dear that I would not give the price.²²

<24> I stayed 4 days at Rotterdam, where Mr. Panzer was very obliging}. Great ships come up to their houses through most of the graefte [gracht = canal] or cuts out of the Maas, {which I observe as yet nowhere else}. The town as all others very neat {with walks between rows of trees roundabout it}.²³ Of Erasmus his statue and the house wherein he was born²⁴ I could not omit to take notice. Then I also saw a comedy {to know the manner of their stage²⁵ and went one day with Mr. Panzer into Croswick, where is a very fine house with a noble front upon the water}.²⁶

<6r cntd> August 27

The lion and the leopard; the two heads or ends of the quay between which we enter the town; the comedy; {dined with Juffrow Pansers; Peternella; Adriana}.²⁷

August 28

The tall woman nigh 7 foot high; {dined with Juffrow Sedeerts²⁸; went upon the water to Crooswijk; the wine pots with covers to the spouts; the water here higher than the land; a handsome façade by Crooswijk; the Duke of York's yacht, the Anne}.²⁹

<6v> August 29

{Went to Dr. Bidloo}.³⁰ The Crane, one of the greatest ships in Holland; the Wassenaar, built instead of Obdam's³¹; {another 3}.

August 30

The house wherein Erasmus born. Overschie³², {with Mr. Panser, halfway to Delft; gallows}³³; powderhouse; the piazza in Delft: the stadhouse at one end very fair and the steeple at the other.

From Rotterdam I passed by Overschie to Delft. The powder house there is a fair one and now at some distance from the town to prevent the like accident which befell the former, which took fire and blew up a part of the town.³⁴ The piazza is also a fair one, the front of the Stadhouse³⁵ being at one end and the high steeple of the New Church at the other, in which church Van Tromp's tomb is very well carved upon the side of the wall, himself lying upon a cannon encompassed with arms and victories.³⁶ In the middle isle is {the chiefest monument <25> in Holland} the tomb of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, together with his wife and son Maurice.³⁷ In a house of this town I saw the marks in a wall which a bullet made at Prince William, who was thereby murdered.³⁸ In another church, very broad and spacious I saw a handsome tomb for Sir Charles Morgan's lady³⁹ and the monument of Peter Hein, the admiral who took the Spanish silver fleet.

<6v cntd> August 31

In the New Church upon the piazza lay Grave William and his wife and Maurice his son's tomb; his dog at his feet; his statue in armour; four obelisks above 10 marble pillars⁴⁰; the Old Church where is Tromp's tomb, {his head} lying upon a cannon and <7r> {the fight carved in marble} and Petrus Heinius, who brought in great riches taken in the Indies. {Pieter Pieterse Hine, sijnn name is cline, sijnn macht is groot, hij heeft gewonnen die silver vloot}.⁴¹ The house where the prince was slain, {three} marks with the bullets;

{From Delft I went to The Hague}, having by the way at some distance a sight of 2 of the Prince of Orange's houses.⁴² At The Hague I saw the Prince's court, the piazza by it, full of green trees⁴³, {the Prince his grandmother's house}⁴⁴, the cours where the coaches meet⁴⁵ and many fine houses in the town, the pall-mall, the wood, the park⁴⁶ and went down to Scheveningen, where our king took shipping at his return to England; which way is now paved from The Hague to the seaside and 4 rows of trees set on each hand, Scheveningen steeple standing at one end of it.⁴⁷

<7r cntd>, [August 31 cntd] the Prince of Orange's house by The Hague; his house (at The Hague), where he lives; {his grandmother's house}; the pall-mall; tour à la mode; piazza met groene boomen; the way to Scheveningen with 4 rows of trees on each hand. From hence 3 hours to Leiden, {2 hours more to Alphen, where I lie}.⁴⁸

{From thence I went to Leiden and one day I made an excursion to Alphen with Mr. Thompson of Lynne.⁴⁹ Here we dined at a countryman's house. In this place they make much oil for soap, make great store of tiles and build boats. I saw an oil mill and the manner of breaking the seeds and <26r> pressing the oil, as also the drying of their tiles wherein they are very curious and have very large houses for that purpose, built only of wood; yet one of them is valued at 1,600 pounds sterling, serving merely to dry the clay and bake the tiles.⁵⁰ On Monday I came back to Leiden by Koudekerk, where is the oldest house in Holland}.⁵¹

<7v> September 1

{(at Alphen). Dined at Willem Vaendrager; the long tile house, the making, drying and baking them.

September 2, Sunday

The oilmill, coleseed and linseed, the grinding then beating and pressing the seed between thick hair cloths}.

In Leiden I took notice of that antiquity called Hengist his castle or the Berg.⁵² {I went up on a round wall upon a round hill, built after the manner of Norwich or any other town wall}.⁵³ In the middle there is now an harbour and a maze or labyrinth round it⁵⁴ and a well out of which they told me they took a fish alive when the town was almost famished during the siege, and disheartened the enemy with showing of it over the walls.⁵⁵ There are now handsome stairs from the top to the bottom and a pretty house built by it, where they have

their public sales and entertainments. The Stadhouse has a fair front towards the street.⁵⁶ In the anatomy schools⁵⁷ are a very great number of skeletons, the 2 legs of an elephant, the skeleton of a whale {taken out of another whale}, of a horse, deer, cow, cat, fox and what not; divers skeletons of men and women, some with muscle, one with the whole flesh and skin, but I have since seen far neater curiosities of this kind at Amsterdam, performed <26v> by Dr. Ruysch.⁵⁸ The garden is small but well filled with plants. {The catalogue of the curiosities which are shown in it I have sent you, which rarities I looked upon very particularly.⁵⁹ The gardener showed me} many pretty glasses {as microscopes, prisms, multiplying glasses and dark chamber and one which I have not formerly had the opportunity to understand, by which very pretty pictures soft and smooth are presented upon a white wall by the reflection of a lamp or candle from a bright concave through a tube made of tin; the picture to be presented being painted upon horn or glass and placed between the tube and the candle.⁶⁰ After this manner I saw many pretty pieces upon the wall and the whole story of the passion of our Saviour}.

<7v cntd> September 3

{By Koudekerk, where is the oldest house in Holland to Leiden}. The berg and house of sales; the stadhuis; the anatomy schools, the legs {and head} of an elephant, a young whale; horses', cows', deer, {apes'}, cats' skeletons; {large idols}; tanned skins; embalmed flesh; {the baron of French <8r> the French duchess on horseback⁶¹; pictures, maps etc.} the garden, {the rarities of which a paper}; the glasses; {the representation of figures on the wall through a tube by reflection from a concave by a lamp. Lie at the English coffeehouse⁶²; Mr. Raymond}.⁶³

From Leiden I came to Haarlem, {where being alone I fell in company with the governour of Mannheim's son, who is a captain here⁶⁴ and now going against the Duke of Lorraine, in service of the Elector Palatine⁶⁵, with whom I saw their observables at Haarlem}. The stadhouse, wherein all the Earls of Holland painted upon the wall.⁶⁶ In the garden we saw good painting {in red} concerning Costerus, who invented the art of printing in this city⁶⁷ and on the other side the ship <27r> with saws, by which device they of this town sawed in pieces the chains which locked up the port of Damiata [Damietta] in Egypt and so took the city.⁶⁸ In the rooms are very excellent paintings by Heemskerck and Goltzius, as his Prometheus and other pieces⁶⁹; but Cornelius van Haarlem most delighted me in his pieces of Herod killing

the children, his feast of the gods, in which Vulcan's foot is esteemed at a great rate and another picture of a friar and a nun at a collation, not inferior to any other we saw.⁷⁰ The old men's house or hospital for 60 aged persons, very neat and handsome, having a good quadrangle and garden in it.⁷¹ The hospital for the sick is very cleanly kept⁷² also the Great Church, esteemed the largest in Holland with a very high lantern upon it; many epitaphs and inscriptions upon tombs in it.⁷³

<8r cntd> September 4

Haarlem. L'homme {(bookseller 16)} fouetté.⁷⁴ The stadhuis in which la salle où il y a tous les graves [= counts] d'Hollande; le jardin, les tableaux {rouges} of the saw-ship that took Damietta in Egypt; the first printer's (Costerus) {statue} and story; in chambers pictures by Cornelius van Haarlem, Herodes killing the children, the friar and nun at a banquet {de barcion}⁷⁵; <8v> the feast of the gods etc. Goltzius his Prometheus {with the vulture; Heemskerk painting upon the inside of the shutters}⁷⁶; the house for three score old men, very neat; the hospital for the sick; the great church, many inscriptions, lantern {in the middle} – {saw these with Mijnheer [left blank], son to the governor of Mannheim}. Arrived at Amsterdam. {The mills}.⁷⁷

{From hence in 3 hours I passed to Amsterdam, where I have seen so many curiosities and am so highly satisfied, that I think I cannot see better; but many tell me Antwerp surpasses it, which I hope to see suddenly.⁷⁸ In the house where I lodge there lies also one Mr. Vernon⁷⁹, an Englishman who has travelled these 6 years; speaks excellent Latin, Spanish, Italian, High Dutch and French; has been almost in all parts of Christendom, besides Barbary; with him I have seen many things. I hear your book of Vulgar Errors is translated into Low Dutch and now in the press}.⁸⁰

Amsterdam, September 14, 1668.

Edward Browne.

LETTER III

[Dordt, September 24]

<27v> Sir,

{I have now left that fair city of Amsterdam. In my former letters I have not said much thereof, though it deserves the greatest consideration of my place} and for the curiosities and improvement of it, goes beyond any I have seen. {The number of shipping surpasses all other

ports}, the masts alone are a thick wood upon one side of the town.⁸¹ They have seventy-two men of war laid up.⁸² The Admiralty I had an opportunity to see {by the assistance of Mr. Panser, who was then at Amsterdam, which favour I think few English will obtain.⁸³ There is in it rigging and all things necessary to set out, of a sudden fifty men of war, vast cables of 22 inches about}, grappling irons, pulleys, oars, charges for powder and all things necessary, {disposed in very good order}.⁸⁴ On the top of the house, which is itself an island, is furnished a great quantity of rain water⁸⁵ and at the entrance there hangs up a canoe with an {Indian} in it with his paddle {or oar} in his hand; so dried up as to be preserved from corruption.⁸⁶ I saw both of the East India houses {with their provisions for sea}, Indian commodities as campher, calicos, green ginger and indigo {and <28r> 4575 great sacks or bags of} pepper. {There was a sale the day before I left}.⁸⁷ The town their ships are of a strange bigness {and divers were calking for their voyages outward}. They are enlarging their house, though it be very long already and a perfect town for all trades within itself.⁸⁸

<11v cntd> Monday [17] 20 September 1668

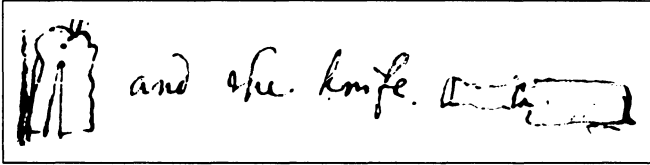
{The sale at the East-India house}, the calicos, {damasks, wax, oils in jars}⁸⁹, the green ginger etc.; Van Hulst's tomb and Heemskerk's inscription in the Old Church⁹⁰; the brass partition and carved pulpit in the New; <12r> the Admiralty, encompassed with water and rain water above to a great quantity, all naval stores for war as cables, grappling irons, pulleys, oars, charges for powder {the lantern, a piece of the Royal Charles which I took⁹¹; the model of a ship}; the canoe with the man in it dried; {one cable 22 inches about. Antwerp steeple 500 foot; Utrecht 371 and 470 steps high besides the lantern}.

Here I saw the manner of driving in piles for their foundations of buildings {and took notice of the engine by which it is performed}⁹², as also the like at the new Lutheran church which is to be built.⁹³ The New Church in Amsterdam is a fair one and so are divers others, {but it is much obscured by the surpassing beauty of the Stadhouse, too high unto it}, however the partition of cast brasswork and the carved pulpit in it are {scarce to be paralleled}.⁹⁴ In the Old Church the tomb of Van Hulst is observable and also the inscription for Heemskerk, their admirals. {At the Lutheran church they are not permitted to have altars. I saw them receive in both kinds; the wafer, not touching it with their hands and the cup in like manner.⁹⁵ I was

divers times} at the Jews' synagogue, once at their feast of the New Year, {another time at a fast}.⁹⁶ I saw a circumcision {at a private house, more neatly performed than I had seen before}; these making use of a probe, {which was omitted in the Italian circumcisions, without which the operation is not so dexterous nor the skin so equally and securely cut}.⁹⁷

<11v> Sunday the [16] 19, 1668

The circumcision, the three instruments, the probe, the



and the knife; the Lutheran church, {the manner of their receiving the cup and wafer}; the bridge consisting of eleven arches over the Amstel, being a part of the wall and 26 paces broad.

<8v cntd> September 5, Wednesday

The stadhuis above a hundred paces in the front, 81 on the side.⁹⁸ {Mr. Bodham merchant, Mr. Cocket}.⁹⁹

September 6, Thursday

The great synagogue of the Jews with brass and silver lamps; Moses di Pas, a young <9r> learned man among them.¹⁰⁰ Orobio, a learned Jew that has [been] physician in the court of Spain.¹⁰¹ {We went to his house}. This is the first of their year; the horns sounded {by the left-hand man of the four that stood up to read the law}, the rest shouting and singing after it.

<9v> September 8, Saturday

The Exchange; 6 stuivers if one comes after twelve¹⁰²; {Mijnheer Hovenaer, 80 ducats of him; good pictures in his house}.¹⁰³

September 9

{The English Presbyterian church; the Dutch minister preacher; here another independent church}.¹⁰⁴

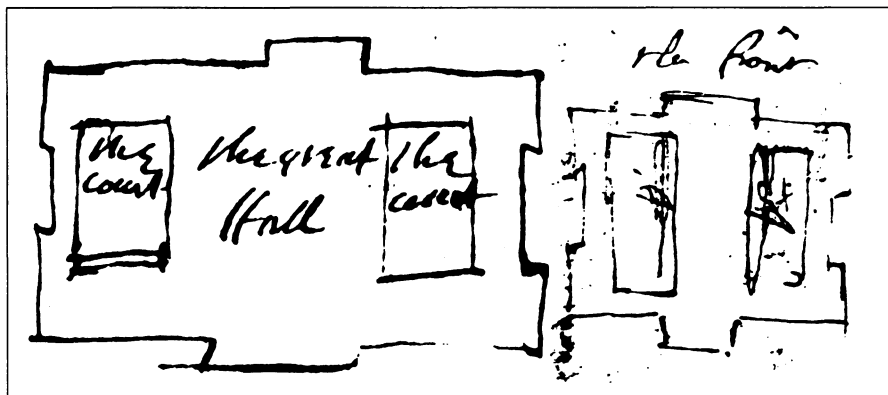
September 10, Monday

The doolhof, the waterworks, clockwork, {the cock crows, claps his wings, St. Peter wipes his eyes}, the motions, pictures and puppet show within, all for a stuiver.¹⁰⁵

September 11, Tuesday

{Mr. Couldham, Mr. Preston¹⁰⁶ went to Rotterdam}; the Exchange abovestairs; the great ball of brass, above ten foot diameter¹⁰⁷; {the great tun, (betwixt 3) nigh four yards diameter, a <10r> room to drink in within it}.¹⁰⁸

{I saw <28v> the schools¹⁰⁹ and their theatre for comedies}¹¹⁰ and took special notice of the stadhouse with all the pictures and statues in it, together with the Atlas or rather Columbus with a vast globe upon his shoulders, to be set upon his shoulders at the top of the stadhouse, bigger I think than that upon St. Peter's at Rome.¹¹¹ The front of the stadhouse by ten of my paces exceeds that of St. Peter's, being a hundred and ten paces before and behind and 81 on the sides.¹¹² {The profile is in the description of Amsterdam which, I sent you by Mr. Primrose¹¹³; the place is of this figure},



<10r cntd> September 12, Wednesday

Saw all the chambers, pictures and statues in the stadhuis; the statues hanging down their heads and covering their faces in the judgement hall; {the ship on the top}¹¹⁴; the great globe and Columbus that is to be set up on the top; the gilded and painted roofs; marbles, floors; the building in this form [sketch above right], the front is 110 paces, the side is 81; {two inner courts within it}.

There is a whole book written of it.¹¹⁵ {When captain Cox returns with his ship to Yarmouth, Mr. Couldham will take care to send you some prints and books.¹¹⁶ There is a new description of Africa in Low Dutch by one Dapper, about 18 shillings price, which I believe will be translated into French}.¹¹⁷ I saw a globe which is to be sold, of betwixt 6 and 7 foot diameter, made by Vingboons; the price 16 hundred pounds sterling.¹¹⁸ The meridian alone cost him a thousand guldens; it is of copper, excellently painted with all the new discoveries as those <29r> to the northwest of Japan not far from it, and to the south of Nova Zelandia in 42 degrees of southern latitude, of longitude 170, called Van Diemen's Land.¹¹⁹

<10v cntd> September [14] 17, Friday

The noble great globe, made by Vingboons, six feet diameter, the price 16,000 guildens; in it the new discoveries to the northeast of Japan and Nova Zelandia with Antony Diemen's Land, discovered in the year 1642 (latitude south 42, longitude 170). {Comenius sick}.¹²⁰

From the steeple of the Old Church of Amsterdam I had a prospect of the town, all the ships and towns about it.¹²¹ It is a most uneven town to be looked upon downwards as it is a most neat one to be looked on upwards.¹²² Upon this and all other towers in the town, a trumpet is sounded just at midnight, at the other parts of the city at 6 o'clock night and morning.¹²³ At eleven o'clock, the time of going onto the Exchange, there is good music at the stadhouse, given formerly by the Earl of Leicester.¹²⁴ The New Island, towards Guttensburg [Kattenburg] or the East-India house, is the fairest built part of the town {and Tripoli house [Trippenhuys] the best house}.¹²⁵ They begin to build with freestone, which is very noble and will far surpass the other buildings.¹²⁶ Their outward wall is built, {they are making the rampart by degrees with the mud they take out of the moat and ditches}.¹²⁷ The bridge over the river Amstel makes a part of their wall and has eleven fair arches and is {about the same breadth with Christ Church in Norwich}.¹²⁸

{I observed their chimes and the wheel with stops, which make the ordinary music upon the bells; but at certain hours they play upon them as upon virginals but with this difference, that as the little pegs or stops lift up the string <29v> and so cause the sound, in this instead of strings there are for the same intent, flat long pieces of bell metal, struck upon underneath by little ends of wood and are to be played upon above, with [sic] kettledrums and after the manner of a dulcimer}.¹²⁹

I have seen so many things and persons of learning and note {in this country that I cannot write letters long enough to declare the same, but when it shall please God that I return to Norwich, I shall be able to relate things more at large}. I was with Glauber¹³⁰, the chemist, {a little} old, {whiteheaded paralytical man, who understands but little Latin. Dr. Visscher¹³¹, an ingenious physician to the Lutherans, brought me to him (unto whom I was recommended by a letter from Mr. Panser) and by his means} I saw Juda Leon¹³², a Jew who has taken great pains in making a model of the Temple of Solomon, of Solomon's house, the Fort of the Temple, the Tabernacle and many other curiosities {much esteemed here}. I was also with Blasius¹³³ (who has written upon Veslingius) the {only} physic professor here.

<10v> September [13] 16, Thursday

I saw Glauber the chemist; {the schools}; Blasius the professor; Juda Leon, the Jew with the model of Solomon's Temple, the Tabernacle, the Israelites encamping, the Fort of Solomon.

Dr. Reus [Ruysch]¹³⁴ of Amsterdam showed us many curiosities in anatomy, as the skeleton of young children; foetuses of all ages so neatly set together and as white {as your frogs' bones which my brother Thomas¹³⁵ prepared}; the lymphatic vessels so preserved as to have the valves seen in them; a liver so excarnated as to show the minute vessels, all shining and clear; the muscles of children dissected and kept from corruption; entire bodies <30r> preserved and {one curiosity above the rest of De Bils}¹³⁶, which is the preserving of the face entire without the least spot or change of colour or alteration of countenance from what it is immediately after death. One of these I saw which has been kept 2 years and he hopes will so last.¹³⁷

<11r> [September 14 cntd] Dr. Ruysch his neat dissections of many foetus; the valves in vasis lymphaticis equinis [the lymphatic vessels of a horse]; the liver excarnated and shining; the skeletons of children, the muscles preserved; but above all a child the face not at all altered; The Jews' synagogue {their carrying about the law}.

Dr. Swammerdam¹³⁸ showed us many of his experiments which he has in his book *De Respiratione*; {he includes a bladder in a glass, the bladder represents the lungs, the glass the thorax; draw out the air out of the glass and afterward the bladder will receive no air by the greatest force whatsoever. It is hard to relate all his experiments with syringes and double vessels without figures and a long discours}. Besides these he showed us a very fair collection of insects, a stagfly of a very strange bigness, an Indian forty-foot¹³⁹, the fly called ephemeron {of which he intends to write} and many other curiosities. {I saw also a vessel or tun of a great bigness, though I suppose not to compare with that of Heidelberg. I went into it, there being a chamber in it with a table and benches}.¹⁴⁰

<11r cntd> September [15] 18, Saturday

Swammerdam his experiments {with the bladder in the glass in the syringe in double glasses one into another}; his insects, Indian forty-foot, stagfly of a great bigness, his fly called ephemeron, {concerning which he will write}.

{I thought to go for the Spa and Aken [Aachen, Aix la Chapelle] but I cannot determine till I be at Antwerp or Brussels. In my next I shall God willing give you an account of my journey from Amsterdam to Dordrecht, where I now am. I have had great satisfaction in my journey hither in many particulars}, I only missed the sight of Anna Maria à Schurman¹⁴¹, she being then gone from Utrecht {into Gelderland. The company of the English at Dordt¹⁴² are rich and} have a church by themselves besides the other English church. <30v> {Divers of them are very courteous unto me and this day I dine with Mr. Smith, their treasurer. If I would go from here into Germany, I might have some of their companies, who go up shortly to buy their wines}.

Dordt, September [24] 27, 1668.

LETTER IV

[Middelburg, September 27]

Sir,

{I wrote unto you from Dort and missing the boat for Antwerp this day (by reason of my going to see Flushing)¹⁴³, I have an opportunity to write again and give you many thanks for affording me means of seeing so remarkable a part of the world in these countries wherein I am}. When I left Amsterdam I passed in 7 hours to Utrecht by small villages as Ouderkerk, Baambrugge etc. and a peculiar burying place of the Jews, who are not permitted to inter their dead <31r> within the walls.¹⁴⁴

<12r cntd> Tuesday [18], 21

{Hodin the Scaben Scabinus¹⁴⁵ at the stadhuis}; the East-India houses, camphor, cinnamon, green ginger, {4575 bags of} pepper, {the sales}. <12v> Came by the Jews' burying places by Ouderkerk, Baambrugge to Utrecht {through a busy suburb. Lie at Glover's ordinary}.¹⁴⁶ 7 hours from Amsterdam.

Utrecht is a handsome city {but now I have seen Amsterdam all places must be less admired by me}.¹⁴⁷ The English church here is an ancient building. The pillar in it whose foundation could not otherwise be laid but by bulls' hides, is much taken notice of¹⁴⁸ as also the old library belonging unto it, together with the manuscripts and

old gilding and painting in them. Besides these there are 3 large unicorn's horns, little differing in length, the longest five foot and a half. I drank out of one of them, the end being tipped with silver and contrived hollow to serve for a cup¹⁴⁹, but the 2 idols given {(as they told me)} by the Emperor Henry IV to this {his} church, taken in war are {the greatest} curiosities, not for their neatness, but antiquity and odd shape.¹⁵⁰ I saw a print in this town of Anna Maria à Schurman and etched by her own hand, {but could not procure it} with this piece of her own poetry under it:

Cernitis hic picta nostros in imagine vultus,
Si negat ars formam gratia vestra dabit.¹⁵¹

I waited upon Voetius¹⁵², the only member now left alive of the synod of Dordt. {I saw the schools}¹⁵³, the painters' chamber {unto which each painter contributes one piece of his own work}. The pall-mall¹⁵⁴ and the church, which is a very large one; and from the top of the highest steeple, there being 3 one upon another, {I took my leave once again of <31v> Amsterdam} and had the sight of a great number of cities and towns round about.¹⁵⁵ {It is above one fourth higher than the steeple of Boston and the fane stands higher by compute than the weathercock of Christ Church in Norwich}.¹⁵⁶

<12v cntd> Wednesday [19] 22, 1668

At Utrecht; the painters' hall, Van Colen for heads and Tuart. Softlever for landscape, Van der Mere for his Turkish drapery¹⁵⁷; the English church in which the pillar founded 1099, with the picture of a bull and this inscription,

Accipe posteritas quod per tua saecula narres,
Taurinis cutibus fundo solidata columna est.¹⁵⁸

<13r> The three unicorn's horns, the longest above five foot eight inches, the rest very little less; drank out of one of them; the horn made out of an {elephant's} tooth¹⁵⁹ and two images taken by Henry the Fourth, Emperor and given to this building; the library, old manuscripts, the Bible in six parts painted à l'antique¹⁶⁰; {over the door this fine verse, Pro Christi laude, libros lege postea claude}¹⁶¹; Anna Maria Schurman's picture by her own hand {taken 1640, anno aetatis 33},

Cernitis hic picta nostros in imagine vultus,
Si negat ars formam gratia vestra dabit.

<13v> {Mr. Best}¹⁶²; mijnheer Voetius, the only man alive of the synod of Dordt; Cyprianus¹⁶³, {the professor of law dispute}, Regius¹⁶⁴ {passed by; the three} long streets; the market; the pall-mall,

five rows of trees on each side; {the cows in the same room with the family}.¹⁶⁵

From thence I passed to Vianen¹⁶⁶, wherein is little considerable besides the house and gardens of count Brederode¹⁶⁷, one of the ancient nobility.

<13v cntd> From Utrecht to Vianen, 2 hours; my lord Gorges buried in the church of St. Catherine at Utrecht.¹⁶⁸ Two hours to Vreeswijk {or the Vaert}¹⁶⁹; passed over the Lek to Vianen, where Mijnheer Brederode his garden, in which the round bulwark with small brass guns, the statues of the twelve Caesars, <14r> of Aristotle, the pyramids and partitions {with laths}; the rampart of the town is the mount; the painting upon the wall; {the rows of trees the gilt crowns¹⁷⁰; saw Brederode's mother in her coach}. Came to Gorkum.

From hence to Gorkum, a pretty town, wherein the great tower of the church, the stadhouse in the market place, the water gate, the river Linge, the river Waal and the Maas are the most observables.¹⁷¹ From hence to Workum¹⁷², so betwixt that and Loevestein¹⁷³, a castle fairly seated and fortified, where Sir George Ascue was kept and so by Proy [Poederoyen], an old seat in sight of Heusden¹⁷⁴, unto {the Bos or Borsh}, Sylva Ducis¹⁷⁵,

<14r cntd> Thursday [20] 23, 1668

The church with the high thick steeple; the market place with the stadhouse all on one side; the Linge the river, {on the right hand}, the Maas by the town and the Waal; the earthen bulwarks; governor's house; the waterport over which this¹⁷⁶,

Civitas in qua maxime cives legibus parent,
et in pace beata et bello invicta. 1642

by Workum, on the other side the water; so betwixt that and Loevestein castle, fortified {with 5 bastions of earth}, <14v> where Sir George Ascue was held prisoner; Proy on the left hand, an old house; on the right afterwards Heusden; {lay all night in the boat}.

a city for its situation and sconces, which command the passages unto it, of the greatest strength of any town in the Low Countries¹⁷⁷; but the Hollanders jealous of the affection of the inhabitants unto the King of Spain, have built a citadel in the town, a Briel, a pair of spectacles to look exactly upon them.¹⁷⁸ It is a handsome fort with five bastions, every curtain has 84 {of my} paces, the face of the bastion 63, the flank 24. {I set down these proportions that I may examine them

hereafter at leisure}. There is a tower <32r> for the sentry at the point of each bastion and the middle of each curtain.¹⁷⁹ {The sconces toward the north side are Gravencoeur [Crêvecoeur], Enghel [Engelen] and Orthen (I write them by the ear); toward the south and southwest Padler, Fughter and the little sconce}.¹⁸⁰ Divers of the nuns are still alive in this town, but at Utrecht all dead.¹⁸¹ The church is large and has many inscriptions, the piazza triangular.

<14v cntd> Friday [21] 24 [1668] 1669

Came to Bolduc or Busse; the church: {the front of the choir carved in stone, double} pillars, {70} statues {and basso relievo}¹⁸², the bishop of Den Bosch¹⁸³ statue – {Omnia mors aequat. Gisbertus Masius, IV Sylvaducensium episcopus, quem Bommelia (3 hours from) mundo protulit, Ducis-Sylva infula excepit, mors virtutibus annisque auctum interceptit. Quid hic triumphas germana somni? ille tibi <15r> reddidit quod debuit, et quod non debuit in patriam transtulit, obiit 2 die julii 1614. – D.O.M. Dominus Nicholaus Zoes¹⁸⁴, episcopus Buscoducis, magister libellorum supplicum et consiliarius magni concilii, frequentioribus cleri populique ac devoti foeminei sexus precibus se commendatum cupiens, hoc loco vivens sibi monumentum elegit, vixit annos 61 praefectus 10, obiit 1623}; the fort the Briel or citadel: 5 bastions, every curtain has 84 paces, the face of the bastion 63, the gorge 24 <15v> every watch-tower cost seven hundred guilders, one in every point of the bastion, one in the middle of every curtain; the long cannon that could shoot to Bommel {cut three foot shorter¹⁸⁵; in the church Maximilian Archduke of Austria and Philip of Spain}¹⁸⁶; the six sconces about the town: three toward the north, Crêvecoeur, Engelen, Orthen; on the south and S.W. Petteler, Vuchter and the little sconce, {qui donna plus de peine aux Hollandais que tous les autres}¹⁸⁷; <16r> the nuns are not yet dead in this town.

From hence I went by land to Breda¹⁸⁸, a place well worth the seeing, if it were only for its fortifications. They have taken away the crownworks, {to begin from without} and left only the half-moons and hornworks and conserves or contre-gardes about the half-moons. There is a large ditch of water round the counterscarp and a small ravelin betwixt each bastion joined to the rampart within the ditch. There is a double hay or quickset hedge almost quite round the town besides palisades. The parapet is very thick and strengthened with a row of elms and seconded with another row at 3 or 4 yards' distance round the town. The bodies of the bastions {(which I never observed elsewhere) are enfoncées or} sunk down and filled with a thicket of

elms; the half-moons are the like without the town and after all a breastwork betwixt the town and the bastions and cavaliers upon several places of the rampart.¹⁸⁹ {I set this down now <32v> it is fresh in my mind. I hope you will forgive it, if less agreeable to you than I wish all things might be that come from your obedient son,

Edward Browne.

Tomorrow, God willing, I go towards Antwerp by water, by reason it is unsafe travelling by land; the Spanish soldiers being necessitous and I should be loath to be brought in for contribution money}.¹⁹⁰

Middelburg in the Isle of Walcheren, September [27] 28, 1668.

LETTER V

[Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, Letters 58, ff. 52r-53v]

<52r> Antwerp, October 1, St. Novo. 1668

Honoured Sir,

{I wrote my last to you from Middelburg, since which time I have been at Brussels and am returned to this place. I made haste that I might be ready to leave this city also upon the first good occasion. In Brussels there are 300 houses infected, {so I lay not in the town, but went about from 5 in the morning till 8 at night and then returned in the boat, so as I have not put off my clothes since I was in Zeeland; with a bill of health I am admitted here again. I waited upon Mrs. Walgrave¹⁹¹, a nun} in the English cloister at Brussels, {who presents her duty to my lady¹⁹² and desires to be remembered to her brothers, sister and other relatives and very particularly to my sisters with whom she was acquainted at Norwich. It would be too long to set down how handsomely and modestly and with how much goodness and innocence she expressed herself upon all occasions and how worthily she spoke concerning yourself Sir, and how sensible she was for the good you had formerly done to her father.¹⁹³ If I had an opportunity I could not commend her enough to my lady.

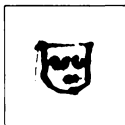
If it be not troublesome to you Sir, I will give you a further account how I continued my journey from Breda, where besides the fortifications} there is a very fair church and many good monuments in it, a principal one is that of Grave Hendrik van Nassau; his armour sup-

ported by four warriors upon their knees.¹⁹⁴ It was he that built the castle here {as they tell me}.¹⁹⁵ I observed the place where the turf-boat entered which surprised the towne.¹⁹⁶ The castle and gardens, walks and the dials in the garden are worth seeing.

<16r cntd> To Breda; the church: over the door,

aMbrosI spInoLae VigILantIa breDa eXpUgnata¹⁹⁷

Renesse's tomb¹⁹⁸; Sir Thomas Aylesbury, set up by chancellor Hyde¹⁹⁹ and old tomb 1394 of John, Lord of Leck and Breda²⁰⁰; Grave Hendrik van Nassau, the arms {(helmet) upon the cover} supported by four soldiers' {shoulders}; he built the castle here, {his wife lies with him}, a very fine tomb; the tomb of Grave Engelbrecht van Nassau and his family on the side of the wall²⁰¹; Here [= heer, i.e.



lord] Van Horne and his three wives²⁰²; {Here Van Polanen}; over one of the church doors:

<16v> phILippUs hIsSpanIae reX gUbernante IsabeLLa CLara eUGenIa Infanta, obsIDente spInoLa qUaternIs regIbUs frUstra ConIUrantIbUs breDa VICtor potItUr.²⁰³

on the west end,

Auxilio solius Dei, Auspiciis confoederati Belgii, Ferdinando

Austriaco Hispaniae Infanta cum ingenti exercitu frustra succurrente,

a Iulii 23 obsessam ad 19 Augusti oppugnatam, Fredericus Henricus

Princeps araUsIUUs breDaM eXpUgnat seXta oCtobris.²⁰⁴

{80 soldiers} took Breda in the turfboat; the place where that boat came in and where the <17r> Prince came over into the town; the castle: the fine gallery walk, the garden to the castle, the dials, walks; the works or fortifications about the town: the ramparts, rows of elms to strengthen the parapet, the haies doubles, the palisade, fosse about the counterscarp, hornworks and conserves or contre-gardes about the half-moons, the crownworks taken away, the middle of the bastions sunk in and planted thick with elms, sometimes a breastwork caisse withinside the bastion



{from curtain to curtain as A English inn: dollar ordinary, dochter}.²⁰⁵

the

From hence I came to Geertruidenberg²⁰⁶, where the remainder of the broken steeple, which was shot down by the Prince of Orange²⁰⁷ whilst the governor and chief of the town were upon it to observe a false alarm in the Prince's camp, and so all was lost. Here I took water and came over the broad, where formerly the 72 parishes were drowned²⁰⁸; this water is called de Waert. An old tower {on the side of it near Dordt} called the house of Murvey²⁰⁹ is preserved still.

To <17v> Geertruidenberg, where the steeple was shot down upon a stratagem by the Prince of Orange; and the governor killed and the town taken; the town {and steeple} of Breda is a fair one. From Geertruidenberg by the place where the 72 parishes were drowned, over the broad water de Waert; the village which escaped is called Raamsdonk²¹⁰; the old tower (or house) of Mirow, {on the other side the water, hard by Dordt, whither I came Saturday, September [22] 23.

At Dordt²¹¹ there is little remarkable but its situation; the Exchange; the great Luik boats and Cologne boats²¹²; the quay or head to the waterside; {the packhouses} for English cloth and some particular houses.

<17v cntd> September [23] 24

{Mr. Marshall²¹³, preacher to the (English) merchants; supped with him; the walks without the town}; the broad water before the town; the great church; the head; {Mr. Butler²¹⁴ <18r> informed me of the silvermines in Brunswick and the English monastery hard by it}.²¹⁵

September [24] 28

The church at Dordt; the steeple 312 steps to the top of the highest tower, made of four dials; the Exchange; the long Luik boats and the great bellied Cologne boats; the head to the water; the English belonging to the company; {was lodged at Mr. Smith, treasurer, dined with him; the packhouses full of cloth}; some fair houses, {one where Mr. Marshall lives}.

From hence I took boat for Zeeland²¹⁶, passed by Willemstad, Zierikzee, Tergoes [Goes] and landed at Terveer²¹⁷ [Veere] in the island of Walcheren, where <52v> all were in great joy for the Prince of Orange his being made Premier Noble, chief of the States of Zeeland.²¹⁸ {I suppose you have had it in your gazette²¹⁹ so as I need not set downe the manner}. It was chiefly brought about by pensioner Huybert, Le Sage, Duvelaer and Vrijbergen²²⁰, formerly the Prince's

enemies, especially Vrijbergen, who was the most earnest of any to bring him in, only in spite to the Hollanders for general Wirtz²²¹ his sake, who being set over the Zeeland forces by those of Amsterdam, lately affronted Vrijbergen's son, who is a colonel, in the head of his own regiment.

<18r cntd> [September 25], Tuesday

{Through the Kil, the river} we came by water by Willemstad, {designed for a port to Antwerp}²²², the Stad Zierikzee, the island of Ter Goes, {where lay <18v> the States' yachts that waited on the Prince of Orange, by the Devil's isle} [Duiveland]²²³ (thatched) to Ter Veere in the island of Walcheren (the factory of the Scotch these 150 years).²²⁴ The long piazza there; the haven; {old stadhuis}²²⁵; round towers towards the sea; the haven; to Middelburg; the fortification of Middelburg.

From Terveer I went to Middelburg, where Mr. Hill is minister. He was very obliging. {I dined twice at his house, he gave me a book, accompanied me to the boat}²²⁶ and when I went to Flushing, sent his kinsman with me. {He says the same man that translated your Religio Medici, has translated the Vulgar Errors into Low Dutch}.²²⁷ The island of Walcheren is very fruitful and pleasant.²²⁸ Middelburg has a good port, a fair new church with a cupola, a very high tower in the old church, a townhouse set round with old statues, a circular piazza and a great broad water within the town.²²⁹

<18v cntd> [September 26], Wednesday

The stadhuis with old statues on the round piazza; the eight-square cupola-like church; the high tower of the great church; the broad water within the town; the whole island fruitful or orchards, madder, pom-pions [pumpkins]; 4th port of the East-India trade.²³⁰

Flushing {has more men of war} and lies more open to the sea, to keep out which, the pier and breakwaters are very remarkable²³¹; and they do not only thatch the banks and shores as in other places, but also upon the thatch raise a handsome strong work of hurdles and osiers.²³² They build many ships here, upon the top of the townhouse is a balcony to discover ships at sea.

<18v cntd> Thursday, September 27

To Flushing; stone walls to <19r> the sea, mudworks to the land²³³; the piers or wooden breakwater and the thatching of the earth or banks;

the binding it down with osiers in good order; the townhouse in the piazza with three rows of pillars one above another, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian²³⁴; a balcony on the top to discover ships at sea; {Mr. Tressell at the beer quay, oyster merchant}; the great ships among which the St. Patrick and the admiral of Zeeland²³⁵; the building of ships: {the bending of the boards when they were hot; for three stivers to Middelburg again}, where a row of trees betwixt the moat and rampart. The Prince landed at Arnemuiden with the knowledge of Huybert, pensioner and Le Sage, Vrijbergen, Duvelaer. <19v> A town sunk, the steeple only remaining (over against Veere).²³⁶ Vrijbergen formerly an enemy to the Prince of Orange was the chief man in declaring him Premier Noble, by reason of an affront given to his {brother}, a colonel, by Wirtz the general set over them by the States. The Prince's entertainment in Walcheren cost 50,000 guildens. Flushing presented a golden bottle (the arms of the town)²³⁷ {with three thousand ducats}. The Prince named the new ship Willem Frederik.²³⁸ {Madame Orleans²³⁹, the great fortune at Middelburg stolen away some time since but refund}. The women wear red cloths and broad straw hats; if a man dies a great bundle of straw is laid at the door; if a boy a little one; if a woman the straw lies on the left side of the door; the pleated lawn at the door of them that are brought to bed²⁴⁰; the officers of Middelburg are chosen by strangers.²⁴¹

I returned to Middelburg by land; there embarking passed down the river by the fort Rammekens²⁴² and so for the Schelde, a fine river; passed by the fort of Frederik Hendrik, stayed by Lillo²⁴³ till the vessel was searched. Over against Lillo lies another fortification called Liefkenshoek; the fort De la Croix is the last which belongs to the Hollanders and lies on the north side of the river. The banks are cut nigh to it and the country drowned for their greater security. The Spanish forts are the Philip, the Pearl and the Maria.

{Of Brussels and Antwerp by the next opportunity I hope to give you an account.²⁴⁴ I would have continued this but that the time prevents me. At Brussels they cannot dissemble their joy that Castel Rodrigo²⁴⁵ has left them and stuck not to say upon the departing upon St. Michael's day, that their patron St. Michael had now overcome and cast out the devil. My respects pray <53r> to all my friends, to Mr. and Madam Burwell and all with them. Mr. Whitefoot, Mr. Robins and my uncle Bendish.²⁴⁶ Be pleased to direct a letter to me at Frankfort; if the weather holds fair I may go thither, my letter of credit being for that place. A Monsieur Pierre de Neufville}²⁴⁷ pour faire tenir à Monsieur Brown, Anglais. My duty to my most dear

mother and love to dear Betty, who I believe has drawn fine pictures since I left her. My love [to] my sister Mab and my dear little Franck and to Thomas Bensly.²⁴⁸ I am,

[Antwerp, October 1 N.S.] Your obedient son, Edward Browne}.

<53v> These for my honoured father Dr. Brown at his house in Norwich.

LETTER VI

[BL, MSS Sloane 1911-12]

Frankfort, October 23, 1668

[...] I returned to Antwerp, which I also left October 4, and giving something to the horse soldiers on the way, got that night to a village called Moulin Brûslé²⁴⁹, {where I first learned to lie upon straw, the ordinary German bed unless in great towns}. The 5th I came into the country of Liège, where we begin to meet with gentle ascents. Erica or heather grows here exceeding high and is their ordinary fuel. October the 6 to Maastricht²⁵⁰, where the townhouse²⁵¹ {is new, somewhat in a lower form imitating that of Amsterdam}. There are two piazzas; the townhouse adorns one and a fountain and a church set out the other²⁵²; the rest, abating the black covering of ardoise to their houses {(which since I see in all other towns)} is but poor. The town is well fortified without (and the old wall accommodated to it) but a hill on the south-east overlooking the town; to remedy which, they began a fort upon the hill, but not willing the town should depend upon that, they have left it; advanced a hornwork within musket shot of it and the bastion answering it is made very high to cover the town.²⁵³ On the other side of the river is Wijk, fortified also – the retiring place of Maastricht should it come to be taken. {Here is a glasshouse where I saw them work}.²⁵⁴ October the seventh I dined at Gallop [Gulpen] and came that night to Aken [Aix la Chapelle].

<24r> October 6

Came to Maastricht; the townhouse {new}, the windows in a row on each side {in imitation of Amsterdam}; another piazza with a fountain

in it and the church; Wijk, the relieving place au-delà de la rivière; the bridge nine arches; {the glasshouse}; the fortifications, hornworks; the hill that overlooks one part of the town²⁵⁵; the high bastion and hornwork advanced towards it; under it a <24v> cave²⁵⁶, from whence the stones are dug; the houses covered with ardoise; {lodged à la Rose}.²⁵⁷

October 7

Dined at Gulpen, where la coche to Aken²⁵⁸; la maison de ville, high with a tour at each end; lodged au Heaulme.

NOTES

¹ Cf. W.J. Blaeu, Part 3, Book I, 9-12, for detailed instructions on how to enter the river Maas. Steeples served as beacons: "Gravesand is a high sharp steeple very good to be known, which stands on the north side of the river Maas. The Brill is a great flat steeple on the south side"; Blaeu gives a depth of 27 or 28 fathom (II, 98) and 29 leagues as the distance between the Naze or Harwich to the Maas east (II, 101).

² Cf. Walker, 1: "Here always harbour some of the greatest men of war belonging to the States"; few at this period had over 80 guns; cf. n. 31.

³ The waterfront at Rotterdam, called the Boompjes ("Boomkeys", Penson, 10v, Thornhill, 58) was particularly pretty: "A fair quay, almost the whole length of the town along the Maas, on which is a well newbuilt East-India house with several merchant houses, very fine" (Bowrey, 29).

⁴ The kermis was held in first full week after 15 August (cf. Van Rijn, 250-51); cf. Evelyn, 39-40, and Walker, 1: "It was our fortune to come here in the kermis [...] where we beheld the splendour and opulence of the place: their train-bands [...] were then exercising or skirmishing from street [sic]; they all fire with a rest according to the old way. Most of their musketeers were very stately in their cossets and headpieces of silver."

⁵ Cf. Temple, *Observations*, 76, on the dangerous entry of the Maas: "The sands [...] make the haven extremely dangerous, without great skill of pilots and use of pilot boats that come out with every tide to welcome and secure the ships bound for that river"; Taylor, 4: "The States General [...] had a considerable share of 17 shillings which our yacht paid for the [...] pilot"; cf. *Teg. Staat*, XVII (Holland, part 4), 46-50.

⁶ Possibly Hoogstraat or Houttuin, cf. Moquette and Droogendijk.

⁷ Cf. Browne, 92: "Landthuis", Gemeenlandshuis van Schieland (1663); cf. Northleigh, 704: "The fairest structure here (at least on the outside) is what they call the Chemin-huis, or the house for consultation about public affairs; it is a spacious square pile of building, the front whereof is beautified with freestone and curious fretwork"; cf. Walker, 1: "The residence of a Dike Grave or Conservator of the banks, who sits every Tuesday in a stately structure called the Camenelond House, something like our Assizes."

⁸ Joseph Hill (1625-1707), proctor at Cambridge (1658-59), minister of the English church at Middelburg (1667-73) and Rotterdam (1678-1705). Browne was his guest in Middelburg, cf. n. 226; Molyneux, 327: "a civil man and a good scholar"; Dunton,

200: "Mr. Hill is a solid divine and well furnished for the ministry, which he makes his choice and not his refuge, in regard his circumstances don't make any such dependance necessary for him [...] His natural temper is full of peace and good humour, which is being heightened and adorned both with learning and grace"; cf. also Calamy, 140.

⁹ Witte Cornelis de With (1599-1658); Thoresby (19) and Child (177, 3) copied the inscription; cf. Northleigh, 704: "In this church you see the tombs of Cornelius de Wit and Egbert Bartholomew de Cortenaer, two of their admirals [...] both very magnificent and erected at the charge of the public. The noble organ [...] is composed of two or three thousand pipes."

¹⁰ Cf. Brereton 7: "The Arminians multiply here and [the] greatest resort to their church, a fine new thing; two lofts very spacious in it"; the Arminians or Remonstrants built a second church in 1650 (Groenewegen, 75-77).

¹¹ Hendric Panzer (1615-1679; merchant; will in UBA MS Aa 44; Ab 18) later accompanied Edward on his visit to the Admiralty building in Amsterdam (letters, 27v); he forwarded at least one of Edward's letters (21 Dec. 1668); his address is on f. 2r of Edward's journal: "A monsieur Hendric Pansers à Rotterdam"; two of his letters to Edward are in the BL (MS Sloane 1912).

¹² Cf. Shrewsbury, 477 (1705): "Mr. Davis says luxury and equipage is much increased in this town, that there are 150 coaches."

¹³ Brereton, 6-7, saw some fine yachts here; Richards, 3v (1685): "Their pleasure boats are very fine, besides the States', I saw two that were very richly gilded; the one belonging to the Prince, the other to the Princess; they were built at the charge of the States likewise maintained and are always ready."

¹⁴ Probably 's Lands Magazijn, consisting of two new buildings (1660 and 1662) on the Nieuwe Haven.

¹⁵ Lemaître, 309, points out that there was a lot of dirt round the statue, as it stood on a marketplace; cf. Fitzwilliam, 33r: "He has a great gown on and a mitre on his head, a book in his hand of which he would very willingly turn a leaf"; Mountague, 13: "the leaves of which he turns over as oft as he hears the clock strike, which forsooth is a piece of Dutch wit"; similar joke in *An Exact Survey* (1673), 32, and Taylor, 9; the statue had been set up in 1622, replacing earlier ones of wood and stone.

¹⁶ Cf. Thomas Browne's letter 2 Dec.: "our loving friend"; possibly John Couldham, apprentice to Edmund Thaxter, gentleman; freeman of Yarmouth in 1663 (cf. *A Calendar*, 95) or James Coldham, who purchased the Anmer estate near King's Lynn soon after 1678 (W. Rye, 111).

¹⁷ Richard Cox, master of the Concord is mentioned in *C.S.P.D.*, 2 Dec. 1668 (88); he became a freeman of Yarmouth in 1671 (*A Calendar*, 105); cf. *C.S.P.D.*, 5 Aug. 1668 (522): "The Concord of Yarmouth from Venice has sailed for Amsterdam with brimstone, rice and aniseed."

¹⁸ In his later letters Browne did not describe the houses of correction and the charitable institutions as he seems to promise here; they were amply described in Fokkens, one of the books he sent his father, cf. n. 113.

¹⁹ Cf. Browne, 98: "Those of the better sort are permitted to have chambers apart. In one large room I saw about a hundred of them and some very well dressed and fine, which was an unexpected sight to me and would sure be more strange to behold in France and England."

²⁰ On 31 Dec. 1667 Cosimo de Medici, 72, saw 900 boys and girls either at the Aalmoezeniers - (1664) or the Diaconie Weeshuis (1657).

²¹ J. Nieuhoff, *L'Ambassade de la Compagnie Orientale des Provinces Unies vers l'Empereur de la Chine*, Leyde, 1665, was in Browne's library (Finch, 31); the sales catalogue does not mention Corneille's comedies; cf. letter 22 Sept. (Keynes, IV, 30): "Buy no books, what are small and portable if any, for by London we can send for such books as those parts afford."

²² Rembrandt's (1606-1669) prints and etchings were not expensive then, although he was famous. In 1662 John Evelyn referred to "the incomparable Rembrandt, whose etchings and gravings are of a particular spirit" (Strauss and Van der Meulen, 519). In 1662 73 prints were sold at an auction in The Hague for 3 gulden 1 stuiver, i.e. less than 1 st. each (*ibid.*, 497). Old masters fetched high prices, in 1642 Rembrandt paid 179 guilders for one print of Lucas van Leyden (*ibid.*, 232). Rawlinson regularly bought prints, at The Hague for 1 gulden 5 st. (9) and at Alkmaar for 1 gulden 18 st. (13).

²³ Cf. Northleigh, 704: "On the outside of the walls, this city appears rather pleasant than strong, by reason of the most delightful walks that surround it on all sides."

²⁴ Yonge, 101, said it was "a low old house"; he copied the inscription over the door: "Aedibus his ortus Mundum decoravit Erasmus, / Artibus Ingeniis, Religione, Fide." Moryson's, I, 48, translation: "The world, Erasmus in this poor house born, / with arts, religion, faith did much adorn."

²⁵ There was no official theatre; "It being then the time of their kermis or fair, there were plays acted and many rarities shown" (Browne, 92).

²⁶ Huis te Crooswijk on the river Rotte, ¼ h. north of the town.

²⁷ Daughters of Henry Panzer; both married lawyers, Peternella on 4 Nov. 1671 and Adriana on 20 May 1678 (Rotterdam, Municipal Archives, stadstrouw).

²⁸ Juffr. Sedeerts, probably an acquaintance or relative of the Pansers.

²⁹ The Anne: 100 tons, 8-10 guns, built at Woolwich in 1661 (Anderson, nr. 295); Temple, who had probably just made his crossing in it, wrote from Rijswijk on August 28, 1668: "The story of an untoward passage at sea is best told that it ended well at land. About nine o'clock on Sunday night [...] I came on shore at Rotterdam, [...] where I was forced to give one day to settle a very ill head." (*Select Letters*, II, 63.)

³⁰ Johannes Bidloo (b. 1642), *Roterdamensis* (Album studiosorum Leiden, 28 Sept. 1662); M.D. 2 July 1666, *De Peste* (Molhuysen, III, 303*).

³¹ *Wakende Kraan*, 44-46 guns; *Wassenaar*, 56 guns, both built in 1666; the largest men of war were *Zeven Provinciën*, 80 guns and *Hollandia*, 80-86 guns, both built in 1665; cf. *Vreugdenhil*, nrs. 587, 583, 520, 474.

³² Overschie: "Where the French and English youths are trained up in literature, as to the Latin and Dutch tongue, bookkeeping etc" (Carr, 8-9; also in Child, 177, 5v, and Dunton, 206); Anon. 1695-99, 8 settled his adopted son, Richard Grosvenor here (Mr Du Crocq) "to learn Dutch, French, writing and accounts; for which we are to pay 180 guilders per annum"; of the 16-18 boarders four were English.

³³ Cf. Fraser, 101v: "I noticed a very neat place of execution near this town, the gallows all of iron and stone and this inscription in gold letters [...]" ; Thornhill, 53, who also saw the "famous gallows, environed with trees", only copied the first half of the Latin text "over the door which leads into the grove". It said: those who are evil hate sin through fear of punishment, those who are good hate sin through fear of evil.

³⁴ Generaliteits Kruitmagazijn (1660); cf. Mountague, 18: "A well built brick house with a draw-bridge and a moat all round it"; the explosion happened in 1654; "In The Hague, which is an hour's distance from here it broke the glass windows; at Haarlem, which is seven hours distant, it shook the doors and windows of the town" (Fitzwilliam, 33r); cf. Nicolson, 8r, after the disaster a painter was found dead "with his hand and pencil upon a Death's picture which he had been drawing."

³⁵ Evelyn, 41, mentions the "very stately portico, supported with very choice pillars of black marble; being as I remember of one entire stone"; Child, 6r: "an old Gothic building [...] but time has [...] robbed it of its former beauty"; Thornhill, 41: "The Stadthuis [...] is a noble front all of stone, handsomely adorned and of a good relieve on account of the advances of the columns, pilasters etc. with their proper entablures."

³⁶ Maarten Harpertz. Tromp (1598-1653); on the memorial (in the Old Church) was "a seafight the best cut in marble, with the smoke the best expressed that ever I saw in my life" (Pepys, 145-46); cf. Anon. 1711, 1: "The tomb is much after the manner of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's in Westminster Abbey, but much better carved, all white marble"; the full inscription is in Veryard, 11-12; translation in Taylor, 85-86: "To the eternal memory of Martin-haipes Van Troump. If you love the Dutch, if you love virtue or true labour, read and weep [...]"; Thornhill, 39, bought a print.

³⁷ This memorial was, like the statue of Erasmus, designed by Hendrik de Keyser: "the most magnificent tomb in all the 17 Provinces" (Mountague, 20). An earlier memorial had been "only of rough stones and mortar with posts of wood, coloured over with black and very little erected from the ground" (Moryson, I, 47). The new monument showed William twice: "in brass, booted and spurred and sitting cross-legged with his helmet at his feet, [and] lying at length in marble [...], at his feet [...] a dog, which they say pined to death for the loss of his master" (Taylor, 84); the sitting figure was by some thought to represent Prince Maurice (cf. Blainville, 7), who with other members of the family was buried under the monument; cf. Hegenitius, 90: "sub hoc etiam saxo requiescit Illustriss. Principis Gulielmi vidua et gloriosae memoriae filius Mauritius"; Fitzwilliam, 32v, also mentions "Prince Frederic Henry and Prince William, this present Prince's father"; Style, 26, associates the dog with Maurice.

³⁸ "With a trembling horror" Shaw, 20, saw "the very holes in the wall caused by the bullets [...] in the Old Court, where the French Ambassadors lodged during the Rijswijk treaty" (Prinsenhof); Style, 27, even saw "the spots of blood [...] on the marble stairs".

³⁹ In the Old Church; Sir Charles Morgan (1575-1642), officer in the States' army. His wife Elizabeth (d.1608) was a daughter of Marnix van St. Aldegonde, one of William's counsellors.

⁴⁰ 10, doubtful reading; Browne, 92, himself later read 10: "4 obelisks are supported by 10 marble pillars"; cf. Child, 177, 6v-7r: "This tomb is under an arch supported on each side by 6 pillars of a dove coloured marble [...] From the four corners arise 4 pyramids of black and white marble"; *Teg. Staat*, XIV, 460, mentions 22 columns of black marble.

⁴¹ Piet Hein (1577-1629); i.e. Piet Hein his name is short (little), his power is great, he has won the silver fleet; the song is still well-known and sung at football matches; Howell, *F.L.*, 325 refers to the event (of 1628) and adds an anagram "Petrus Hainus. Hispanus Ruet".

⁴² Browne can only have seen one house, Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, where the peace was concluded in 1697.

⁴³ Child, whose lodgings were there (very dear!) noted: "Behind the Court is a square as big as St. James' but planted so thick with limes that the sun scarce ever peeps into it. It is called the Plein. This grove is much frequented by wild turtles, who every morning by their melancholy notes make the happy neighbourhood imagine they slept in some delightful shade and not in so populous a place" (177, 12v-13r).

⁴⁴ Het Oude Hof on the Noordeinde; cf. Anon. 1662, 36v; Cosimo de Medici, 309, visited Amalia van Solms there in 1669; Brereton, 28 admired the Prinsessestuin.

⁴⁵ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 29v: "The chiefest [walk] is upon the Vijverberg over against the court, the other a little lower, called the Voorhout, where every evening before supper men and women meet in their coaches for to make the tour à la mode and after supper, about nine o'clock in the summer only, they walk in the same place on foot till 10 or 11 o'clock"; Taylor, 89: "The Voorhout railed in with rows of trees, is most delightful, the people walking under the shade like our Mall, and the coaches drive round as in Hyde Park."

⁴⁶ Lyrical descriptions are given of het Haagse Bos, north of the town: "The inhabitants take the air there in the summer season with a divertissement capable to render them envied even among the gods" (*A Late Voyage*, 535); cf. Le Petit (1609), 125 and *The Triumphs of Nassau*, 14: "The park [...] is in length 1500 paces but nothing so much in breadth; there grow oaks, elms, ash and other trees, on whose boughs great and small melodious birds do with their songs delight and recreate the senses of the hearers; there are deer, hares and conies. It is a place worthy of the Muses and where Princes, Earls, Lords, Counsellors, Advocates and all sorts of people usually walk to recreate themselves after their toils."

⁴⁷ Vernon, 254 writes about the road: "There is a straight walk all set with trees and admirably kept, of about two English miles. [...] It] is maintained by an imposition of a farthing upon every man and one penny upon every horse that passes by that way, out of which the States receive every year 8000 guilders and the rest pays the officer there and keeps it in repair. It is the most frequented passage hereabouts, for it is the great divertissement to go in Corso on the sands and it is ordinary to come with six horses for those that have them"; a curiosity at Scheveningen was "the chariot of Prince Maurice, called sailing, because it sails on land as a ship at sea" (Shaw, 24); Anon. 1695-99, 30: "A large church standing on the shore which formerly stood in the middle of the town, the sea having devoured the rest."

⁴⁸ Brereton, 44 saw a decoy there, a country-seat with fine gardens and in nearby Zwammerdam, a rape-mill: "turned by a horse, which drew about two great millstones standing on the edge one by the other, which did turn round upon a third millstone, upon which the rapeseed being thrown, was ground", a detailed description follows; Hope, 157-58 also reports at length on an oilmill and made a sketch of the machinery.

⁴⁹ It looks as if Browne wanted his father to believe that he spent more time in Leiden than he actually did; Mr. Thompson unidentified.

⁵⁰ Mure, 178 saw bricks made between Gouda and Rotterdam: "One moulds and casts 15,000 bricks in a day, which are taken off his hand by the boys that spread them and provide the necessaries for them."

⁵¹ Probably Poelgeest, cf. Parival, 83: "un fort beau chateau", an old house, belonging to one of the most ancient families in Holland; cf. Junius, *Batavia*, cap. XIX: "De nobilitate Batavica", 557-58.

⁵² The Burcht, according to tradition founded by Hengist and Horsa, leaders of the first Saxon expedition to Britain in the fifth century A.D.; Skippon, 401 refers to Meursius' *Athenae Bataviae* [sic].

⁵³ Cf. T. Baskerville, 269, on Norwich: "Here also remains the ruins of a very stately castle, built on the top of an eminent hill in the midst of the town, overtopping all the rest of the city"; the castle at Oxford is built on a similar mound; Shaw, 27: "The Berg or mount [...] is looked on as a great curiosity in this country, where a mountain is as rare as an elephant; for I have just seen one of each, since I left England and I gave two pence to mount the hill and two pence to see the elephant"; Rawlinson, 9, also paid 2 st. for his visit.

⁵⁴ The word *now* may be due to Browne's use of guidebooks, Hegenitius did not mention these recent changes; cf. Parival, 46: "l'on y a fait des hayes en forme de labyrinthe depuis quelques années"; there was "a little cabinet in the middle, where people may call for liquors" (Isham, 17).

⁵⁵ Browne had heard the story during his stay in Paris in 1664, cf. Keynes, *Journal*, 22; Misson, 1722 ed., III, 149 (an addition: "Mémoire pour les voyageurs"): "on vous parlera d'un poisson qui y a été trouvé."

⁵⁶ It contained paintings by Engelbrechts (1468-1533) and Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533), now in the municipal museum De Lakenhal; Browne, 94 took his information from Hegenitius, 75; cf. Northleigh, 706: "They tell you that the Emperor Rudolph offered as many Hungarian ducats for one of these pieces, representing the Day of Judgement, as would cover it."

⁵⁷ The caretaker gave guided tours (*Les Délices de Leyde*, 83).

⁵⁸ Frederik Ruysch, cf. *Journal*, September [14] cntd, and n. 134.

⁵⁹ A catalogue of the plants by A. Vorstius was printed as an appendix to: A. Spigelius, *Isagoges in rem herbariam*, Leiden, 1633, cf. Schoneveld, *E.L.N.*, 352; Hegenitius, 60-65, has a list of the other rarities, catalogues of which were later available "in several different languages" (Isham, R, II, 57) (Dutch, English, French and Latin) and cost 6 st.; cf. Carr, 11; Witkam, xii does not mention editions before 1669); cf. chap. 1, n. 34.

⁶⁰ A similar show was seen by Joly, 134 (1646) and Fitzwilliam, 29r (1663); this description was not printed by Browne, probably because of an article in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 38 (August 17, 1668), 741-43, "A contrivance to make a picture of anything appear on a wall".

⁶¹ Mountague, 82: "A French nobleman who ravished his sister and also murdered her, was beheaded at Paris and bestowed upon the anatomy by Dr. Bils."

⁶² Probably the White Hart or the English Ordinary on the Papengracht; cf. *Reisboek*, 1689, 67 and Clerk, Correspondence, *passim*.

⁶³ Samuel Raymond (b.1645), matriculated as a student of medicine on May 12, 1668; M.D. at Utrecht, February 10, 1669 (Smith, 190).

⁶⁴ Numerous Germans served in the States' army; cf. Ten Raa and De Bas.

⁶⁵ Charles Louis (1617-1680), Elector Palatine; Charles IV (1604-1675), Duke of Lorraine; hostilities broke out at the end of September; cf. Browne, letters, 36r; Aitzema, VI, 1, 893-900, and *Hollantsche Mercurius* (1668), 164-65.

⁶⁶ Browne's, 94, statement that these pictures were in the Prince's house together with the others, was rectified in the Dutch edition (14).

⁶⁷ Laurens Jansz. Coster (1405-1484). In a summerhouse in the garden of the Prince's house, next to the stadhuis Skippon, 403 saw his picture, "in a furred gown, holding the letter A in his hand [...] His statue and the inscription [over the door of his house in the marketplace] mentioned in Hegenitius, were lately removed from hence"; according to Nicolson, 13r the then owner "would not have too many gazers upon his house"; Blainville, 29 saw the statue in the stadhuis; both Evelyn, 54 and Denne, 22 report seeing his statue at Leiden: "Here at a private house I observed on the wall the statue of Costerus, the first inventor of the art of printing; he was a monk." The Leiden statue is still to be seen on the façade of Haarlemmerstraat 86. It was placed there by the type-founder Arent van Hogenacker in 1630; cf. Van Selm.

⁶⁸ Brereton, 51 and Isham, 18 saw three ships hanging in the church; the full story is in Hegenitius, 48-49.

⁶⁹ Maerten Jacobsz. van Heemskerk (1498-1574); Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617); Tityus bound to a rock, his liver being devoured by a vulture, 1613, is in the Frans Hals museum (cat. 109); the pictures were in the Prince's House.

⁷⁰ Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638), who "excels in colouring but errs in proportion" (Carleton, 12-13); the pictures are still at Haarlem: massacre, cat. 467; wedding of Peleus and Thetis, cat. 59*; Drake, 6, also mentioned Vulcan's foot, for which Cosimo de Medici "offered 1500 pistols to cut [it] out from the piece" (Vernon, 260); "the miracle of Haarlem", cat. 52; this passage is also in *The Present State*, 358.

⁷¹ It was built in 1608 and now houses the Frans Hals museum; cf. Brereton, 49-50: "Here is a most dainty, curious old-man-house, which might well become lord in the land to live in; it is built in manner of a quadrangle and most neat and uniform [...] Four dainty, suitable quarters in the court, which is most evenly paved with bricks; two gardens; two green quarters to dry their clothes. Within the house a cloister, neat walk insides whereof, convenient little neat lodgings wherein placed two beds in wall after Dutch fashion, for two persons. Here is a stately chamber for the fathers of the house, the governors of the house, which are four; another suchlike room for the mothers of the house; a fair stately chamber, whereunto they are removed when they fall sick, where they are as well attended as though they were gentlemen."

⁷² Probably the Elizabeth gasthuis, which few tourists saw (not in Hegenitius or Parival); Browne may have been professionally interested.

⁷³ Cf. Browne, 94-95: "Within are many inscriptions and monuments, most of which are transcribed and set down in Gotfr. Hegenitii Itinerarium Hollandicum [...] There is this Dutch one, for a man and his wife, Laet lopen die lopen luste / Onse tijd is verlopen wij leggen hier in ruste. Let them run, that run will / Our time's run out and we lie still"; Skippon, 403 mentions three organs; the famous ones date from 1735.

⁷⁴ Cf. Browne, 95: "Here I first saw the manner of punishing malefactors by whipping them with rods, which is more severe than I imagined; they lead them to a post upon a scaffold, their hands tied and by a pulley drawn up as high as can be extended; and then an iron fastened about their waist to keep them steady; in which stretched-out posture they receive sometimes fifty or sixty stripes or more, according to the merit of their offence"; Spierenburg, 75-76, quotes an 18th-century witness according to whom the number of lashes ranged from 36 to 83; 16 lashes?

⁷⁵ Tourists were probably told that Maerten van Heemskerk was the son of a farmer; cf. Van Mander, 163b; Wasowski, 40 mentions "Baursohn" [= farmer's son]

as the artist (1653); this painting, "The miracle of Haarlem", is by Cornelis van Haarlem.

⁷⁶ Cf. Skippon, 403: "an altar-piece, representing the slaughter of the innocents; the middle part of it was painted lately by one Cornel. Harlemensis, the wings or shuts of the picture by Martin Hemskerke."

⁷⁷ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 19r: "out of the Haarlemmer and Reguliers port are many saw-mills"; Farrington, 273: "an incredible number of mills outside the city on the Zaandam side."

⁷⁸ Cf. Browne's letter from Frankfort on 23 October (BL, MS Sloane 1911, 4v): "No city comes nigh Amsterdam for neatness and spruceness, although there be no uniformity in building and seldom four houses together alike. Antwerp and Brussels look old in respect of it; Venice resembles it most of any place."

⁷⁹ Francis Vernon (1637-1677), FRS, elder brother of James Vernon.

⁸⁰ *Pseudo-doxia epidemica, dat is: Beschryvinge van verscheyde algemene dwalingen des volks*, Amsterdam, 1668; the translator was Johannes Grindal, cf. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic*, 144.

⁸¹ The expression "forest of masts" is used in connection with Amsterdam as early as 1550, cf. Bientjes, 17; Bentivoglio, 40 (1642); Howell, *Instr.*, 71 (1642) and many later travellers; cf. n. 93.

⁸² During the recent war with England many new ships had been built for the Admiralty of Amsterdam (17 in 1666, 20 in 1667; cf. Vreugdenhil); in 1700 Shaw, 41, saw forty-two men of war laid up in Het Hock next to the Admiralty building; illustration in Schenk, plate 54.

⁸³ Carr, 42: "This arsenal is not to be seen by strangers without a ticket from the Bewinthebbers"; Neville, 41a: "One must have a permission to see it from the burgomaster"; Anon. 1695-99, 13, was not admitted.

⁸⁴ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 18v: "Here is kept all ships' provision; not the least rope is wanting. With this provision they set out completely a ship; when it comes back from its voyage it must give an account of everything it has received. Is anything lost or spoiled negligently or maliciously, they to whose charge such things are committed are severely punished, otherwise they are supplied with new things instead of the old or lost ones. Every ship has its provision apart and so upon the least occasion may be made ready"; see also Style, 33.

⁸⁵ To be used in the event of a fire; Browne, 99 wrongly suggested that its only use was for drinking water, which was in short supply in Amsterdam as there were no good wells; Style, 33, "a huge fish pond containing 1600 tun of water".

⁸⁶ Cf. Ray, 25, on the anatomy at Delft: "In the entry below hangs a Groenland man in his boat, of which we have seen in several places, particularly in the Trinity-house at Hull"; Style, 33, "a long canoe made of leather and fishbones"; similar canoes in Flushing, cf. Lemaître, 353.

⁸⁷ A Danish diplomat wrote on August 1: "There is great rejoicing here in the town over the thirteen richly laden East-India ships, which have arrived here safely; and in the month of August the goods aboard them will be auctioned and sold"; Lindenov, 6.

⁸⁸ No records of major construction work on the main building in 1668 survive; Browne may refer to smaller buildings nearby: the carpenters' and smiths' works, butcheries, saw-mills etc.; *Van VOC tot Werkspoor*, 13-34.

⁸⁹ Oils, very doubtful reading.

⁹⁰ Abraham van der Hulst (1619–1666), vice-admiral, died in the Four Days' battle; Jacob van Heemskerck (1567–1607) died fighting against the Spaniards; in Browne, 97, their names are followed by an account of how Van Heemskerck spent the winter of 1596–97 on Nova Zembla.

⁹¹ Cf. Vernon, 259: "The lantern of the Royal Charles is kept in the Admiralty House"; the ship itself lay at Helvoetsluis, until it was broken up in 1673; Vreugdenhil, nr. 620.

⁹² Cf. Fraser, 92r: "This short account I can give of it, having seen it often. Having bought his ground he measures the dimensions and purchases as many beams of oak as may serve his turn (and ordinarily they use 10 or 12 or 14 foot long square measure and 2 or 3 foot diameter). He makes that end small and sharp which is put in the ground and having dug deep till it enters, he then fixes his high crane by, from which perpendicularly hangs a weight of iron, hanging by an iron chain, which perhaps may weigh 60 or 80 stone, which with heaving and falling he beats upon the pile until he sinks and makes it level with the ground"; other descriptions in Pontanus, 17–18 and Fokkens, 41–42; Ray, 35 read in the *Describer of Amsterdam* that the stadhuis was supported by as many as 13,659 piles.

⁹³ The church on the Singel was built 1668–71; cf. Browne, 96, where this passage ends as follows: "For the foundation of one tower or steeple alone, over against the church of St. Katherine, Mr. J. de Parivall, who wrote *Les délices de la Hollande*, reckons that there was rammed into the ground a forest, as he calls it, of six thousand three hundred and thirty-four great trees [...] So that it was not improbably said, that if a man could see all under this city, he could hardly behold a greater forest."

⁹⁴ Cf. Carr, 18–19: "The States have spared no cost to exceed the world in three things, (viz.) an organ with sets of pipes that counterfeit a chorus of voices [...], a large carved pulpit and canopy as cannot be found elsewhere in the world; the third is a screen of brass"; the admiration was not universal: "There is a pulpit the workmanship whereof is said to cost 20,000 crowns, I should rather think they ought to have been guilders; it is a mere heap of carving, the sounding board runs up all in pinnacles etc. with no great order or beauty in my mind" (Anon. 1699, 8); various amounts are given, Ray, 36 (£1000); Veryard, 2 (£100,000); Neville, 40 (£12,500).

⁹⁵ Brereton, 63–64 visited the church one year after its completion, he commented on the lack of pictures, a wedding ceremony and the manner of baptism.

⁹⁶ In 1668 the Jewish New Year was on 5 and 6 September. The fast was on 14 September, the eve of Yom Kippur; the synagogue, Talmud Tora, served from 1639 till 1675 when the famous synagogue of the Portuguese Jews was opened (information from Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam).

⁹⁷ Browne, 157, had seen circumcisions "at Rome, Padua and other places"; it "is performed by thrusting a probe in between the glans and praeputium and separating it, or dilating the praeputium, so as the inward skin may be drawn forward as well as outward; then by applying an instrument jointed like a carpenter's rule, or a sector, the skin is held fast beyond the glans, and with a broad incision-knife, or circumcision-knife, the foreskin is cut off close to the instrument; and what remains of skin is immediately put back, the blood stopped with powders and a plaster applied; the relations and acquaintances singing all the while, whereby the cries of the infant are less heard" (100).

⁹⁸ For exact measurements, cf. Journal, September 12.

⁹⁹ Probably Jan (John) Cockey, late alderman of Norwich, who was made a freeman of Amsterdam on August 19, 1656; elder of the English church in 1665, 1669 and 1670 (Amsterdam Municipal Archives, Poorterboek I, 484; PA 318, letter from Norwich July 29, 1656; Carter, 219); Abraham Boddens (1628-1679), merchant in English manufactures; his wife, from Plymouth, was a member of the English Reformed church (Elias, II, 628; Amsterdam, Municipal Archives, PA 318, nrs. 93 and 107).

¹⁰⁰ Possibly Moses de Paz, son of Isaac, married to Zippora Selomo, who died in 1687 or Moses de Paz, son of Salomon, married to Rachel de Azevedo, who died in 1704 (information from Jewish Cemetery, Ouderkerk); he is also mentioned in *The Present State*, 216.

¹⁰¹ Balthazar (alias Isaac) Orobio de Castro (c.1620-1687; *NNBW, Locke Corr.*, II, 690); cf. Browne, 100: "I was sorry to see divers here to profess themselves publicly Jews, who had lived at least reputed Christians for a long time in other places [...] another who had been professor some years at Toulouse and before that physician to the King of Spain"; this passage was literally translated by Chancel for his guidebook (1714).

¹⁰² Cf. Isham, 21: "From 11 to 12 o'clock the gates of the exchange are open to all, but from 12 to 1 those that come in must give something which at first was a shilling but now much less serves."

¹⁰³ Antonio Hovenauer (1633-before 1682); 52 paintings (many Italian ones) were sold on April 15, 1693; he lived on the Herengracht (Hoet I, 16; *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 67 (1975), 158); Browne received 252 guilders (1 ducaton = 3 gulden 3 st.).

¹⁰⁴ The Reformed church in the Begijnhof and the Brownist church; in 1668 the Reformed ministers were Richard Madden and Richard Woodward, the latter "as much Dutch as English"; Carter, 218, 105.

¹⁰⁵ Browne, 100: "There is a music-house or entertaining house, where any one is admitted for a stiver, hears most sorts of music, sees many good water-works and divers motions by clockwork, pictures and other divertisements"; Hegenitius, 36-37 mentions the Mennisten Bruiloft.

¹⁰⁶ Possibly Thomas Preston, former apprentice to John Coleman, surgeon, freeman of Yarmouth in 1666 (*A Calendar*, 98), ship's surgeon of the Concord? or a member of another family known to the Brownes; cf. Wilkin, III, 486; Charles Preston, fellow of Magdalen College in 1668, his brother Isaac, called to the Bar in 1666 (*Alb. Cantab.*) or their father Jacob J. Preston (1613-1683), cf. W. Rye, 690.

¹⁰⁷ The globe to be set on the Atlas on the stadhuys; cf. n. 111.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. n. 140.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Northleigh, 709: "They have no university here but something resembling an academy, which they call their Schola Illustris, where in the summertime six professors keep their public lectures in their respective faculties. They have also a small anatomical theatre"; Skippon, 406 calls it the Athenaeum or Gymnasium and gives the names of the 6 professors.

¹¹⁰ The theatre had been enlarged and modernized in 1664-65; Style, 32, "not comparable to ours".

¹¹¹ Architects were Jacob van Campen (1595-1657) and Daniel Stalpaert (1615-1676). Why Browne and his translator (19) call the Atlas Columbus is not clear. In 1664-65 Browne had been on the roof of St. Peter's, inside the ball at the top of the lantern of the great cupola (diameter 8 ft. 4; cf. Misson, Harris, II, 673); cf. *A New*

Description, 64: "Those that have the curiosity may go into this globe, passing through the body of Atlas, where are 3 little windows through which you may overlook the whole city. But they never let anybody go up in the heat of summer, for fear of being stifled."

¹¹² Carr, 19 gives the following measurements: 282 foot wide, 232 foot deep, 116 foot high; the façade of St. Peter's is 374 foot wide; the portico 233; the dimensions Browne gives are also in *The Present State*, 364.

¹¹³ A duodecimo description of Amsterdam was M. Fokkens, *Beschrijvinge der wijdt vermaarde koopstadt Amstelredam*, Amsterdam, 1662; the 1664 edition was in Browne's library (Finch, 43); Mr. Primrose, not identified, cf. n. 116.

¹¹⁴ The weathervane is in the form of a ship.

¹¹⁵ J. van Campen, *Afbeelding van 't Stadthuys van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, 1665; not in the Browne sales catalogue.

¹¹⁶ On 2 Dec. Thomas Browne wrote: "I received your things in Capt. Cox's ship the Concord. The description of Amsterdam Mr. Primrose brought me." (Keynes, IV, 38).

¹¹⁷ O. Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten*, Amsterdam, 1668; idem, *Description de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam, 1668.

¹¹⁸ This phrase in *The Present State*, 251; James Vernon, 258 also saw the globe made by Johannes Vingboons (Philips' brother) in 1672; cf. J.E. Huysken (ed.), 62, 89-90; also Temple, *Observations*, 89: "I have [...] known one man that employed four and twenty years about the making and perfecting of a globe and another above thirty about the inlaying of a table."

¹¹⁹ The old name for Tasmania; the longitude is correct (on 17th-century maps the 0 meridian is drawn across the westernmost point of the old world, Palma, one of the Canary Islands; London was 21° E.L.).

¹²⁰ Joh. Amos Comenius (1592-1670, died in Amsterdam), had been involved in the founding of the Royal Society; Browne, a FRS, had probably come to pay his respects.

¹²¹ Skippon, 407 stressed the importance of London: "From the Old Kirk steeple we had a large prospect of the city and river where the ships lie, which hardly exceed in number those in the Thames about London."

¹²² A phrase is added in Browne, 99-100: "and is not so divertising or pleasing to the sight as some towns in France and Italy, which have flatter roofs or else are covered with a fine black slate or ardoise."

¹²³ Cf. Carr, 65: "There are also upon every church tower trumpeters, who sound every half hour; and if any fire breaks out in the city, they give a signal on which side of the city the fire is and ring the fire bell."

¹²⁴ Every day from 11 to 12 a brass band of 6 city-musicians played at the stadhuis and could be heard on the Dam in front of it, cf. Bredius, III, M, 36, 41-42; at the time of Leicester's visit in 1587 the band would also have performed, cf. Dapper, 236; the Dutch translation also has the reference to Leicester.

¹²⁵ From the Nieuwe Waals island there was a fine view of the port, the East-India House and the Admiralty building on Kattenburg; admiral De Ruyter lived here; the Trippenhuys (not on this island but on the Kloveniers Burgwal) was built in the early 60s by Justus and Philips Vingboons for the Trip brothers, millionaire merchants, cf. Huysken (ed.), 48-58; also Monconys, 161; according to Fokkens, 85-86 it cost 2 or 3 tuns of gold and seemed to rival the stadhuis.

¹²⁶ In the late 1660s many fine houses were built along the new canals in the area that had recently come within the city walls (extension 1658-62).

¹²⁷ Fitzwilliam, 15v comments on the city's strength: "It is surrounded with above 30 very well made bulwarks and great ditches; beside that in case of necessity, she may set herself wholly in water whensoever she pleases"; cf. also Anon. 1686, 15r; there were 26 bastions, 11 old ones and 16 new ones (Van Domselaer, 270).

¹²⁸ The bridge: "26 paces broad" (cf. Journal, September [16]), is no longer extant; Christ Church was 28 "of my paces broad" (Browne, Journal 1663-64, in Wilkin, III, 408 [1852 ed.]).

¹²⁹ Cf. Skippon, 407: "We saw one play on the chimes (somewhat like the organists), but he used his feet as well as his fingers, which had thick pieces of leather to defend them from hurt in playing with a great force"; Bargrave, 89v comments on the chimes at Zwolle, cf. chap. 3, p. 114; cf. also Evelyn, 48; there is a long description in Fokkens, 193-97.

¹³⁰ Johann Rudolph Glauber (1604-1670); cf. Browne, 100: "Old Glauber, the chemist showed us his laboratory"; Sorbière, 81 who also commented on his bad Latin, saw 4 laboratories where 6 people were at work; when Skippon, 407 and Ray called, he was ill; his book on the nature of salt (1658) was in Browne's library; Finch, 43.

¹³¹ Adolphus Visscher (b.1642), matr. Leiden, 2 March 1662; M.D., de Diaeta, 15 September, 1667 (Album studiosorum, Leiden; Molhuysen, III, p. 306*).

¹³² Jacob Jehuda Leon Templo (1602-1675), a rabbi who had published a book on the Temple (1642), eventually printed in seven languages; Henrietta Maria saw his models; Fitzwilliam, 17r comments it was all "very prettily made of paper or suchlike thing and very conformable to the story of these things of the Old Testament"; Skippon, 406 talks of a "pasteboard model"; in 1670 he showed his work in England; cf. Offenbergh, 54-75; Hooke, 179; 210, saw it in 1675-76.

¹³³ G.L. Blasius (1625-1692), city physician and from 1660 professor; Browne may have bought a copy of J. Vellingius, *Syntagma anatomicum commentario* (Amsterdam, 1666; in Browne's library; Finch, 19 and 57) for his father, who had studied medicine with Ve(s)lingius (1598-1649) at Padua.

¹³⁴ Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731), professor at Amsterdam from 1666.

¹³⁵ Thomas Browne (1647-1667); in 1661 he had been sent to France (his journal is in Wilkin, I, 17ff [1836]; his father's letters to him in Keynes, IV).

¹³⁶ L. de Bils (1624-1671), many of whose anatomical preparations were in the collection at Leiden; cf. Mountague, 72-95. Thomas Browne had asked Edward about him (letter 22 Sept.); a letter from him is in the *Phil. Trans.* (Oct. 19, 1668); in Brussels he showed Ray and Skippon, 379 five human bodies; Finch, 36 writes: "He never had any teacher of anatomy but has a remarkable aptitude for dissection, to aid him in which, he used in France to steal at night the bodies of executed criminals which remained on the gallows."

¹³⁷ Cf. Shrewsbury, 483: "Mr. Ruisch [...] has a wonderful secret to preserve bodies dead; he gives them the colour of a live face. He showed us a child dead 12 years, whose flesh is firm and seems like one asleep."

¹³⁸ Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680), M.D. Leiden, 1667; cf. *The Present State*, 250: "His treatise de Respiratione [in Browne's library; Finch, 23] is not founded on conjecture and speculation, but entirely on his own experiments which he was always ready to show those who visited him"; later he became interested in insects; *Ephemeris*

vita, Amsterdam, 1675; in November 1684 Locke saw "Swammerdam's Musaeum" in Leiden; cf. J. and A. Romein, 451-72; Dewhurst, 263-65.

¹³⁹ Cf. Browne, 100: "An Indian Scolopendria or forty-foot"; the Dutch translation gives "slang van veertig voet", i.e. a 40 foot snake.

¹⁴⁰ On the Oudezijds Achterburgwal in a storehouse; *Jaarboek Amstelodamum*, 50 (1963), 169-74. When Browne, 122, arrived in Heidelberg, he found that a new tun had been built in 1664, even bigger than the old one, cf. Journal, 30v.

¹⁴¹ A.M. van Schuurman (Schurman), cf. n. 151.

¹⁴² The English Merchant Adventurers, whose staple was in Middelburg, moved to Delft (1621), Rotterdam (1635) and Dordt (1655); in 1672 they left for Hamburg; cf. Te Lintum; churches: the Reformed Church (1623-1839) and the Merchant Adventurers Church (1655-1700); cf. Sprunger, 437.

¹⁴³ Cf. Journal, September 27.

¹⁴⁴ Detailed timetable in *Reisboek*, 1689, 529-31; the journey took 8¼ h.; Ouderkerk (Portuguese Jews, cf. Evelyn, 42-43) 1¼ h.; Baambrugge 3½ h.

¹⁴⁵ One of the town officials ("schepenen")?; possibly Jan Hulft, Hendrick Hooft, Jan Hinlopen, Aernout Hooft, Jannes Hudde or Jacob Hinlopen, cf. Bontemantel, II.

¹⁴⁶ Isham, R, II, 21, The suburb "out of the Amsterdam gate, called the Weerdt is very large [...] in it is the sluice of the Vecht"; Glover's, doubtful reading.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Anon. 1686, 11v, who had not yet been in Holland: "The town is generally well-built, extremely well in repair, streets well paved and everything neat and pretty, though the houses are generally too low." Cf. chap. 3, pp. 114-15.

¹⁴⁸ St. Mary's, founded c.1090 by Emperor Henry IV, who had destroyed a St. Mary's church at Milan; cf. Walker, 5: "It seems in digging the foundation, some springs burst in [...] which hindered the artificers, but an old man admonished in a dream to advise them to lay beasts' hides under it, which they did and proceeded in the work"; Neville, 41b: "to this day in a hole in the pillar you hear water run as if there was a considerable quantity"; Skippon, 408 and Anon. 1691, 42-44 give a Latin poem with the story, (English in Northleigh, 709); there are paintings by Saenredam on which tourists can be seen looking at the inscription; cf. Schwartz.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Skippon, 408: "30,000 guilders have been offered [for them]. Formerly they were used as candlesticks nigh the high altar"; cf. Wasowski, 242, who says that visitors drank their healths from these horns; Browne, 101-02 makes a long digression on sea unicorns' teeth, valuable collector's items; his father owned a piece of one; a prince of Brunswick borrowed this passage for his travel account (1678), cf. Bientjes, 254.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Mountague, 198: "Two small brazen images, supposed to be heathen gods and by them worshipped"; Skippon, 408: "brass idols with wings, named by the fellow that showed them Jupiter and Pluto"; Farrington, 264: "Jupiter and Mars"; Veryard, 6 and Anon. 1695-99, 28: "Jupiter and Mercury".

¹⁵¹ A.M. van Schuurman (1607-1678): "one of the most learned ladies that ever lived, who wrote with equal elegance in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian and Dutch" (Blainville, 45); she was looked upon as a rarity but "unwilling to be visited by strangers" (Skippon, 409); Fraser, 89v-90r saw her at the English church and Calamy, 164-65 tells an anecdote about her; translation: Here you see our features in this sketched image; if [my] art cannot render beauty, your kindness will give it.

¹⁵² Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676), since 1634 professor of theology; "a sour rigid man" (Burnet, *Autobiography*, 467).

¹⁵³ The university (founded in 1636) was housed "within the precincts of the great church, the schools and auditoria are but very mean, yet very commodious, the university library is in St. John's church" (Fitzwilliam, 14v); Skippon, 407 saw an Englishman "ready to take his doctor of physic's degree" in the choir of the great church; cf. chap. 4, p. 200.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Anon. 1662, 38v: The pall-mall was "esteemed the best in Europe till ours in St James' Park was made"; Style, 44, also mentions "the walks on the walls and the churchyard of St. John, this last towards the evening as much frequented as Gray's Inn Walks at London". Anon. 1695-99, 27: "Well shaded with limes and very like ours in St James' Park, but not so long by one third"; cf. also Northleigh, 710: "Like our mall in St. James's Park, but neither so large nor pleasant"; Bromley, 782: "The King of France, when his armies committed all the inhuman barbarities that can be conceived in that country, forbid under pain of death, not in the least to deface or injure these walks."

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Browne, 101: "Utrecht being in a plain flat country and so well seated and encompassed with so populous a country, that in a day's journey a man may go from hence to any one of fifty walled towns and cities"; a classic remark, cf. Guicciardini (1567), 250: "plus de 60 villes murées".

¹⁵⁶ The highest steeple in the United Provinces, 371 foot; 470 steps, cf. Journal, [17] Sept.; Farrington, 263: "464 steps"; Skippon, 408: "We went up 460 steps to the top of the steeple (where there is a large cistern of water ready to quench fire) [...] In this steeple lives a man with his wife and family"; in 1674 "there was a most terrible storm of wind with dreadful thunder and lightning, which threw down all the west part of the church [...] and so the steeple remained by itself" (Anon. 1699, 6); Norwich 315 foot. and Boston 272½ foot.

¹⁵⁷ The artists are probably Johan van der Meer (Vermeer, 1630?-1688); Herman Saftleven (1609-1685); Christiaan van Colenbergh and Johan van Bylert (1603-1671); cf. S. Muller Fzn; E. Bénézit.

¹⁵⁸ Moryson's translation of the distich is in chap. 4, p. 171.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Skippon, 408, it "was formerly used as a horn to wind and call people to church"; Farrington, 264: "they tell some of the ignorant people, [it] is one of the horns of the Altar."

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Isham, R., II, 17: "abovestairs is a little library"; Penson, 31v: "Nine great manuscripts in Latin, six whereof contain the Old and New Testaments and the other 3 the Psalms; all which are very curiously written on vellum by the monks in the hand called GERMAN TEXT, several of the great letters being laid with burnished gold and leaves adorned with divers colours. There are likewise several other printed books, when printing was in its infancy"; Brockman, 91r: "in both New and Old I wrote my name 1686"; there are over 500 British names in the volumes now in University Library Utrecht; cf. Hulshoff.

¹⁶¹ Translation: To the glory of Christ, read the books and close them afterwards; Skippon, 409 also copied it.

¹⁶² John Best (d.1696), pastor of the English church at Utrecht; cf. Calamy, 144: "a Dutchman, who spoke English very brokenly and though an honest good man, yet an indifferent preacher"; cf. Sprunger, 452.

¹⁶³ Cyprianus Regnerus (or Regneri) van Oosterga (1614-1687), since 1641 professor at Utrecht.

¹⁶⁴ Henricus Regius (Henri le Roy, 1598-1679), since 1638 professor of medicine and botany at Utrecht.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Yonge, 104: "In winter they keep their cattle in houses, so clean as may be [...] Their cow-houses are so warm in the winter as a stove"; remainder quotation in chap. 3, p. 147; cf. Parival, 30: "leur propreté et politesse paroît jusques aux étables" (1660 ed.); Misson (1694), I, 3: "cette propreté s'étend partout: on le trouve jusque dans les étables, où les vaches ont la queue retroussée avec une cordelette attachée au plancher de peur qu'elles ne se salissent"; cf. Locke, Journal, 1685, 20.

¹⁶⁶ A visit to Vianen was a popular excursion for inhabitants of Utrecht; detailed description of route in Isham, R., II, 25; cf. Anon. 1699, 7: "It is very pleasant coming from Utrecht hither by water in the summertime; and there is a public house in the wood where one may have good pike or carp at any time, they keeping them always ready in a pond, so that one may always depend on a pretty dish of fish"; Northleigh, 710: "A handsome country-seat [which] has very handsome woody walks all about it and the garden, which is a quarter of a mile from it, has tolerable good waterworks and the finest walks of male fir trees that I ever saw" (i.e. Amaliastein, outside the city); since Vianen lay outside the jurisdiction of the States, Lord Irwin and his challenger came here to fight their duel (Haccius, Dec. 16, 1714).

¹⁶⁷ With Wolfert van Brederode (1649-1679) the male line of the family became extinct.

¹⁶⁸ Sir Edward Gorges, Baron of Dundalk (c.1582-1650); not in the Dutch ed.; nothing is known about his memorial or escutcheon; St. Catherine's was the English church in 1621-25; cf. Sprunger, 214.

¹⁶⁹ Vreeswijk (also called de Vaert after the canal which connected it with Utrecht); Vianen is just across the river Lek.

¹⁷⁰ The gardens of Batestein castle were adjacent to the city walls, which were planted with rows of trees; cf. Browne, 103: "The mount in this garden serves for the rampart to the town"; De Meyere, 50 has a print of c.1700 showing several statues in the garden but the references may well be to paintings inside the castle, cf. *Oud Holland*, 26 (1908), 177ff. with an inventory of 1646: in the great hall (Zaal) the 12 emperors and the coat of arms of Brederode, (which was surmounted by a crown) and in a smaller room (saleth) a picture of Aristotle (181-82); cf. Fitzwilliam, 15: "Here we saw the house of Brederode, which is not very magnifiquie but yet sumptuous enough, a pretty wood, gardens and water belonging to it; we saw in it most of the pictures of the House of Brederode"; Brederode's mother was Louise Christina van Solms, sister of Amalia, Prince Frederic Henry's wife.

¹⁷¹ Gorkum was four hours from Vianen; Coryat, 363, who only spent one night here, gave a lyrical description, (cf. chap. 1, n. 63); he also made the classic remark about the view from the top of the church (Coryat writes stadhuis): "a man may plainly perceive on a fair day two and twenty goodly walled towns, together with many fair villages and gentleman's palaces in the country"; cf. Guicciardini, III, 127.

¹⁷² Workum, at present Woudrichem, just across the river, which was here "twice as broad as the Thames by London Bridge"; Northleigh, 710.

¹⁷³ Loevestein: "the prison for people of quality" (Reresby, 123); among them was Grotius (1619-21) until he "happily made his escape in a trunk of books" (Veryard, 15); Raymond, 35-36 tells the story at length; Admiral Sir George Ascue (Ayscue), made prisoner during the battle against De Ruyter in June 1666, was kept here until after the peace of Breda in 1667.

¹⁷⁴ Heusden: "that most impregnable fort"; Evelyn, 59.

¹⁷⁵ 's-Hertogenbosch, Den Bosch, Bois le Duc, in the seventeenth century often called Bolduc.

¹⁷⁶ I.e. the town in which the citizens obey the laws most, is happy in peace as well as invincible in war; Browne, 103 added that it was "remarkable" that the town "made good its inscription in the year 1672; when Louis XIV, King of France came down with so powerful an army [...] this watergate being the limit to his conquests this way"; cf. chap. 4, p. 176; the inscription is also in Wasowski, 32.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Moody, 38r: "The Busse is certainly the strongest town which belongs to Holland, for the water goes 3 miles round it the whole winter and in summer when there is occasion, they can pull up the sluices and set it all under water"; Ray, 42: "By reason of its situation and fortifications one would judge this place impregnable, yet has it been taken in the late wars"; Walker, 7: "Upon our entering into the town, as at Grave, we gave in our names to the governor"; later he "was conducted about the walls by a Scotch soldier, then in the States' army".

¹⁷⁸ Browne's translation is correct; cf. Moody, 38v: "There is a strong castle called by the name of Papenbrille, or a bridle for Papists, because most of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics and this castle commands them and the town"; the Catholic officer Richards (1692, 13v) noted that the Catholics had "in all occasions shown themselves very faithful to their masters, the States, especially in the last French war in the year 1672".

¹⁷⁹ Hope, 169 also saw the citadel: "a regular pentagon of 5 bastions" and gave the measurements in feet; Fitzwilliam, 13r comments upon the "deep and broad ditches" and the many pieces of ordinance: "in two bastions towards the town there are twelve"; cf. also Southwell, 65.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 13v: "By the Vuchter port, where we came from Breda, there are two sconces more, the furthest of [which] is called fort Isabella, surrounded with 5 bulwarks of earth, good ditches and the fens; at the taking of the town the Prince of Orange lost here abundance of men. The other, which is nearer the town is called Fort Antoine, made all of brick, little but pretty and very neat; these two forts are built on the highway (which consists only of bridges for the rest is water) able enough to ruin a whole army; not far from Heckel port there is another sconce on firm ground called Petteler Sconce, which is very strong and has never been taken."

¹⁸¹ Evelyn, 58 visited a convent of religious women who were permitted "to enjoy their monastery and maintenance undisturbed by articles and capitulations at the surrender of the town"; cf. Fitzwilliam, 12v: "No religion but the Protestant is publicly exercised here, some religious women are suffered, but only for their lives, as soon as they which are in it are dead, no others are to succeed, but the convent is to be turned into some hospital or other"; at Utrecht some nuns were still alive in 1663 (Fitzwilliam, 14v).

¹⁸² Cf. Skippon, 409: "The entrance into the choir is a stately marble porch, adorned with statues as in St. Mary's Church at Antwerp. The altar pillars of marble are still preserved and two white marble pillars curiously carved, with the story of our Saviour's birth and ascension"; Northleigh, 710: the church is "adorned with as fine a screen as ever I saw out of Italy and the figures and ornaments of the screen as well as of the altar, remain undefaced, though in a Protestant place"; the screen was sold in the 19th century to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁸³ G. Masius (b.1546); to the inscription the distance from Den Bosch to Bommel has been added; the meaning is: Death equals everything. Gisbertus Masius, 4th bishop of Den Bosch, to whom Bommel gave birth, whom Den Bosch received with [the bishop's] headband, death has taken away after he had increased in virtues and years. Why do you triumph, sister of sleep? He returned to you what he owed [= his body], and what he did not owe [= his soul] he took to his [heavenly] home. He died 2 July, 1614; Skippon, 409 and Fitzwilliam, 12v also copied the inscription; Isham, 33, he "is represented in stone in his pontifical robes, kneeling before a book"; Fitzwilliam, 12v: "at the taking of this town some overzealous soldier cut off his mitre and arms; had he been caught the Prince of Orange had bestowed a rope on him for his recompence."

¹⁸⁴ N. Zoes (1564-1625), 5th bishop of Den Bosch; Browne erroneously writes 1623; To the highest God. The noble Nicholas Zoes, bishop of Den Bosch, master of petitions and member of the great council, desiring frequent intercessions of the clergy, the laity and the religious women, chose for himself a monument while he lived in this place. He lived 61 years; during 10 of which he stood at the head [of the church here]; he died in 1625; cf. C.F.X. Smits.

¹⁸⁵ Richards (1685), 4, sketched the cannon, kept in the backyard of the stadhuis: "18 foot long and 7 inches bore; it was formerly 25 foot long"; cf. Style, 39.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Browne, 104: "In the choir are painted the arms of many of the knights of the golden fleece"; Skippon, 410 copied the inscription on Maximilian.

¹⁸⁷ I.e. during the siege by Frederic Henry in 1629; cf. n. 180.

¹⁸⁸ Until now Browne had only travelled by water; cf. Isham, R, III, 30: "in a covered cart"; Orrery paid f12:10 for a waggon and f1 passage money (24 Jan. 1687); Northleigh, 710: "From here to Breda is eight long leagues [through] sandy plains and heaths [and a] wood of four miles long, as regularly planted as the trees of the most artificial walks"; Ray, 20: "At our entrance we passed through two ports and over five drawbridges"; Anon. 1699, 14: "As we went out of the town [...] we paid again a particular toll to the King as Baron of Breda."

¹⁸⁹ Sidney, 131, saw the fortifications with the Prince of Orange: "the soldiers work there"; cf. Anon. 1686, 21r, and Lithgow, 1637, 5-6.

¹⁹⁰ Travellers in Flanders and Brabant were liable to be held for ransom by badly paid soldiers, cf. Evelyn, 38; 74; Browne's father wrote him that Antwerp would be worth a visit "if the contagion and disorder of soldiers in those parts will permit" (22 Sept.); on Oct. 4 Browne had to give some money to soldiers between Antwerp and Maastricht; however, in 1671 Walker, 13 said about Count Monterey, the new governor: "This man, by his singular diligence has so secured all roads and passages that Flanders, which was a long time reputed a den of thieves, is now become as safe as any part of Europe"; cf. Isham, 32, about his journey between Bergen op Zoom and Breda in 1705: "We went most of the way on heaths and all in country under contribution, for which reason we were provided with passes."

¹⁹¹ Theodosia Waldegrave (c.1646-1719) entered the Benedictine abbey of English nuns in 1663 and became abbess in 1713 (*Monasticon Belge*, IV, *Province de Brabant*, I, 186); cf. Walker, 12, about "the English nunnery. At the grate we discoursed with 2 nuns who bore the name of Russell; they were Augustines by order, the lady Wigmore was their abbess; we went to hear their vespers but found they chanted so miserably we could hardly refrain laughing". Prideaux visited many English monasteries in Flanders and Brabant; cf. Van Strien, "Recusant Houses".

¹⁹² Probably Elizabeth Viscountess Maidstone, to whom the Brownes may have passed Edward's letters after they had been copied; cf. Keynes, IV, 33.

¹⁹³ Thomas Browne copied, 32v: "the great good you had done her father Sir Henry"; Sir Henry Waldegrave (1590-1658) had 23 children; cf. W. Rye, 972.

¹⁹⁴ According to Anon. 1706, 4v, the steeple had "448 ascents, which make 224 foot in height"; most travellers write the tomb shows Hendrik III van Nassau (1483-1538), who commissioned it and who is buried in the crypt under the mausoleum; it represents Engelbrecht II van Nassau (1451-1504) and his wife: "at length on a marble base, with a marble canopy over them supported by four statues representing as many ancient heroes" (Northleigh, 711); Fitzwilliam, 11v, thought it was "one of the most curious tombs that can be seen in the Low Countries"; Skippon, 387: "like Sir Francis Vere's monument in Westminster Abbey"; in the Dutch ed. p. 33, Browne's error was corrected.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Northleigh, 710: "The family of Nassau have a handsome palace here, with a delicious garden between the body of the town and the works; and Prince Henry of Nassau built another in the citadel in form of a castle after the antique way; it has a noble portico and handsome gallery and the box-work in the garden is extraordinary curious"; an extensive description of the gardens is in Anon. 1706, 3r-4v. Inside the castle Style, 40, saw "in a window cut with a diamond: Mutare Ver Timere Sperno. Tout ou Rien. Underneath written: Anne Hide. A little below, I suppose by the same hand: En Parole de Prince".

¹⁹⁶ Skippon, 387-88 was told the story in great detail. The load of peat "covered 70 men that surprised the castle for Prince Maurice 1590 [...] The boat was kept till Spinola gained the place 1625 and then it was hewn in pieces and burnt [...] When any boat enters the haven with any merchandise etc. they search it and stab a spit in several places"; cf. Berry, 12v.

¹⁹⁷ Breda has been captured by the vigilance of Ambrosio Spinola in 1625.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Skippon, 387: "Fredericus à Renesse and his wife" (1469-1538).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Skippon, 387: "An escutcheon hangs up for Sir Tho. Aylesbury, Bart." (1576-1657), who lived in exile in Breda (1652-57); Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), the royalist politician, was his son in law.

²⁰⁰ Jan II van Polanen, Heer van der Lek (d.1394); cf. Skippon, 387: "Mijnheer Vanderleeke and Van Breda, who built this church."

²⁰¹ Engelbrecht I van Nassau (c.1380-1442); cf. Skippon, 387: "Grave Engelbert's, having eight fair statues, among which a cardinal and a monk."

²⁰² Cf. Skippon, 387: "Grave Horne's and his two wives"; the figures on the tomb in fact represent Jan I van Polanen with his two wives.

²⁰³ Translation: During the reign of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Philip King of Spain, victorious against the unsuccessful alliance of four kings, takes possession of Breda after Spinola had laid siege to it (1625).

²⁰⁴ Translation: With the help of God alone, by order of the Confederate Netherlands, does Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, capture Breda on 6 October (while Ferdinand of Austria, Infant of Spain in vain came to its assistance with a formidable army) after it had been besieged from 23 July until the assault on 19 August. (1637); this inscription is also in Anon. 1699, 3, and Skippon, 387, who says the other two are in "the history of Spinola's siege of Breda".

²⁰⁵ The innkeeper's daughter? British soldiers formed a large part of the garrison; Skippon, 387: "Here are 17 companies of foot and 4 troops of horse; two of the

companies are English"; Isham, 33: "The garrison are most all English"; there was an English church (1614-72), cf. Sprunger, 268 ff.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Skippon, 388: "We walked the works, which are strong and well trenched about [...] Here are three companies of foot, one of which is English under Captain Doleman and one troop of horse."

²⁰⁷ I.e. during the siege in 1593, which Moryson, I, 48; JJ, 233, went to see; a Dutch inscription in the church told the story; cf. Timaretes, 268-69.

²⁰⁸ During the storm of 1421 the sea "overwhelmed sixteen fair towns, some write there were no less than three score and ten of them drowned" (Coryat, 366); Browne gives the traditional number; Skippon, 388: "Reed sparrows observed here."

²⁰⁹ Huis te Merwe (called after the river Merwede; cf. Rademaker, plate CLII); Isham, 9, saw the tower from the turret in the Doelen: "the only remains of the 72 villages that were lost."

²¹⁰ Raamsdonk is a few kilometres east of Geertruidenberg; only its church was saved in 1421; cf. v.d. Aa.

²¹¹ Thomas Browne, 33r, copied: "In the maiden city of Dordt there is little more remarkable than its situation like a swan's nest"; cf. Brereton, 12: "It is called maiden town, because never taken by the enemy"; Berry, 12r, tells an anecdote explaining the name of maiden town; the exchange was built in 1659; Skippon, 388: "Here we saw many great and long boats which come down the Rhine with wine etc."; Browne, 106: "It is reckoned the first and chief town of South Holland, in respect of its antiquity [...] and also in respect of its privileges in having the Mint here and being the staple for Rhenish wine and English cloth."; cf. C.D. van Strien, *Britse reizigers te Dordrecht*.

²¹² Cf. Anon. 1695-99, 7; "The Exchange is much finer than [at] Rotterdam"; Browne, 106: "The great vessels roundbellied, which trade between Cologne and this city seemed strange; as also the long Luyck or Liège boats; and the number of people that continually live in them."

²¹³ Thomas Marshall (1621-1685), minister to the Merchant Adventurers from 1650 till 1672; cf. Sprunger, 253-55.

²¹⁴ Possibly John Butler, English minister at Breda (1664-66; 1670-72) or Thomas Butler, a merchant adventurer in Rotterdam in 1648-49; cf. Te Lintum, 264.

²¹⁵ In his book Browne mentioned silvermines in Hungary and Saxony, not these; in 1643 English Benedictines had refounded a monastery at Lamspringe near Hildesheim, a fine church was built in 1670-91 (Brockhaus); there is a long description of it in Farrington, 151-53.

²¹⁶ Boats for Veere left twice daily with the tide; *Reisboek* (1689), 50.

²¹⁷ A detailed description of this route is in Bowrey, 27-29.

²¹⁸ The event took place on 19 September; William III (1650-1702), who was not yet stadholder, had taken his opponents completely by surprise; he was the most powerful man in the province; cf. Skippon, 396: "The States-Provincial of Zeeland consist of the Prince of Orange (who is marquis of Veere and Flushing) or his deputy, and six deputies from 1. Middelburg 2. Zierikzee 3. Goes 4. Tholen 5. Flushing 6. Veere; to whom is joined the pensioner and secretary" (translated from Boxhorn, *Commentariolus*), cf. also Temple, *Observations*, 144.

²¹⁹ Cf. "The French gazette" (letter Th. Browne, 22 Sept., Keynes, IV, 30); possibly the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (1662-).

²²⁰ Pieter de Huybert (1622-1697), since 1664 pensionary of Zeeland; Johan Le Sage, one of the burgomasters of Middelburg from 1667-79; possibly Joos Duvelaer, burgomaster of Middelburg in 1667; and Willem Lievensz. van Vrijberghe (Vrijbergen) (1624-1679), mainly responsible for the event (Nagtglas); cf. Browne, 107: "no great friends to the Prince".

²²¹ Paulus Wirtz (1612-1676) was made field marshal in Jan. 1668; cf. Isham, R, I, 90, for the inscription on his grave in the Old Church in Amsterdam; he had affronted Theodorus van Vrijberghe (d.1679), the brother (cf. van Epen and Journal, September 27) of Willem (Nagtglas, II, 903-04).

²²² Willemstad was fortified in 1583 to prevent Holland being separated from Zeeland by a foreign fleet; later the port of Helvoetsluis was equipped for the Dutch navy; v.d. Aa.

²²³ Cf. Fraser, 104v: "so called because of the multitude of doves in it"; Browne must first have seen the high tower of Zierikzee and afterwards the island of Goes; for "thatched", cf. n. 232.

²²⁴ Cf. Child, 178, 9: "Here be many inhabitants who are Scots and keep free houses, not for their hospitality to strangers but because they pay no excise for what drink they sell at home, wherefore they are restrained by severe penalties from sending any abroad"; Browne, 106: "above 200 years"; they in fact came to Veere in 1444 (*Teg. Staat*); cf. Fitzwilliam, 35r: "The magistrate has given them a fair great house for the use of the company and the old parish church for to serve God in their own language."

²²⁵ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 35v: "The townhouse [is] built [...] of a white stone; on the outside of it the statues of the lords and ladies of this town are cut out in stone; on the steeple is set a gilded ship, which signifies the means by which they live."

²²⁶ Hill probably accompanied Browne to the Antwerp boat; Monconys, 114, paid 15 st. fare.

²²⁷ Mr. Hill was mistaken; *Religio Medici* was translated by Abraham van Berckel in 1665; cf. n. 80.

²²⁸ Cf. Perth, 45: "Near [Middelburg] the country is like a garden"; on the way to Middelburg Isham, R, III, 19, noticed "several hillocks [...] some think they were made for fear of an inundation, others take them for some monuments of the Ancients".

²²⁹ Cf. Browne, 106: "A straight cut through the land to carry vessels out to sea"; the Oostkerk was finished in 1667; Northleigh, 711: "went up to the tower of the townhouse, from whence we had a full prospect of the whole island"; Fitzwilliam, 36v: "The townhouse is another noble building, having a fair and curiously made clock upon its tower and on the outside of it the statues of the Counts and Countesses of Zeeland, all cut out in stone"; idem, 35v: "The greatest ships can harbour here and lie at shelter upon a standing water which is within the town."

²³⁰ Cf. Browne, 107: "Flushing is the third port for the East-India trade; Amsterdam and Rotterdam being the first and second"; cf. Bowrey, 40: "Half the trade to India belongs to Amsterdam, one quarter to Zeeland, one quarter to Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen."

²³¹ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 36r-v: "It lies as if it were within the jaws of Neptune, the sea does almost surround it; before the haven is made a great bank, which is with very great cost maintained; it breaks the waves"; Perth, 45, mentions a new dock that was being constructed: "the finest imaginable, it can hold 120 men of war"; cf. General

Conclusion, p. 234; Mountague, 234: "hence they send out a great many capers that plague the French and return rich (as they used to do from us, when in war with England); they have always 40 or 50 abroad."

²³² In his book Browne amplified a passage from Ray, 20: "By the way we observed the sea-banks to be faced with a kind of matting of rushes or flags staked down as high as the tide usually rises, to defend them from being washed away by the water"; Browne, 107 wrote: "The seashore hereabouts is not only faced with rushes, flags and reeds staked down as high as the tide usually arises, but it is also strongly bound over with osiers and hurdles and great posts driven in, to break the force of the water and secure the piles which make the harbour or haven's mouth."

²³³ Cf. Skippon, 385: "We passed over two draw-bridges and entered Flushing and viewed the fortifications, which towards the land are thick earthworks handsomely pallisado'd and well strengthened with a broad trench full of water, which is kept up higher than the level of the country."

²³⁴ Cf. Coryat, 374: "The front being raised to a notable height and adorned with many fair arms, escutcheons and other curious devices that do exceedingly beautify the same."

²³⁵ Tressell, doubtful reading; cf. Yonge, 105: "waiting on the quay, we saw a caper of 28 guns come into the road with one of our men of war as prize. She was called the St. Patrick, a new ship, mounted with 40 guns and but poorly manned and ill fitted, who too boldly venturing on this caper and another of 24 guns, was [...] taken and brought in by this one, the other going to Terveer whereto she belonged"; cf. Pepys, 6 Feb., 1667; (Anderson, nr. 375: 48 guns, 621 tons); the admiral of Zeeland was the Walcheren of 68 or 70 guns, belonging to Lt.-Admiral Cornelis Evertsen (Vreugdenhil, nr. 584; G. Brandt, III, 16; 90).

²³⁶ The tower opposite Veere was the drowned steeple of Wissekerke, cf. Vischer-Roman kaart van Zeeland, 1655 (rpt. Alphen, 1973); there were more steeples like this: "I observed in the journey a great many high towers in the water, which were heretofore parish churches" (Coryat, 371); "Two leagues on our left hand from Terveer we were shown a token of Providence's love for these people as a steeple and a vast tract of ground submerged by the sea, which was formerly called Wolphaartsdijk. Had I not been told it was a steeple I should have taken it for a beacon" (Child, 177, 1v-2r).

²³⁷ Cf. Coryat, 373-74: "the name of the town is derived from the Dutch word flessche [= bottle], which signifies a pitcher."

²³⁸ No mention is made of the ship in the extensive account of William's visit, *La chasse du Prince*, a contemporary pamphlet; it was probably the Prins Willem Hendrik (named after the prince himself), an East-India ship of 1094 tons; cf. J.R. Bruijn a.o., *Dutch Asiatic Shipping*, II, 164.

²³⁹ The rich widow of David van Orleans (or Orlens); he died 1667, she in 1696 (Nagtglass, II, 311); nothing is known about a theft.

²⁴⁰ Straw at door also in Mure, 177 (at Veere); cf. Browne, 107: "When any woman is brought to bed, they fasten a piece of lawn [= fine linen] to the ring and rapper of the door and make it up into a little baby or puppet, finely pleated and in such manner as to distinguish of what sex the young child is"; Moryson has a similar remark (Hughes, 381).

²⁴¹ The college of electors at Middelburg also comprised members not born in the city; cf. Guicciardini, III, 179.

²⁴² Rammekens: "which England once had, there are 1000 caldrons of coal underground, laid there by Queen Elizabeth for a stock" (Anon. 1691, 36); "It is an old-fashioned fort and guards the mouth or entrance of the river which leads to Middelburg and is but a sorry feeble thing" (Mountague, 233).

²⁴³ The four forts formed a blockade to prevent merchant ships sailing to and from Antwerp; "They have a small frigate, about 26 guns, to assist" (Mure, 173); "We were searched for merchandise and paid one shilling toll" (Taylor, 14); passes had to be shown and tourists were sometimes obliged to tip the Dutch and Spanish officers more than they liked (cf. Evelyn, 62-63); Browne, 108, like Hope, 183, probably spent the night at Lillo.

²⁴⁴ In his letters from Cologne (11 Oct.) and Frankfort (23 Oct. N.S.).

²⁴⁵ Francisco Castel Rodrigo, governor of the Spanish Netherlands (1664-68); Michaelmas is 29 September (N.S.).

²⁴⁶ Nicholas Burwell of Gray's Inn and his 2nd wife Frances, a friend and patient of Thomas Browne (Keynes, IV, viii); John Whitefoot (c.1646-1731) son of a Norwich clergyman (a friend of Thomas Browne), who had been at school and at Cambridge with Edward; Mr. Robins, businessman?, cf. Keynes, IV, 45; Mr. Bendish, the husband of one of the sisters of Edward's mother; they sent Edward their regards in his father's letters of 22 Sept. and Dec. 23.

²⁴⁷ Thomas Browne sent his letter of 22 September via Edward's bankers: Sir James Johnson of Yarmouth, the Dutch merchant Antonio Hovenaer, and Pieter de Neufville in Frankfort; a copy of Hovenaer's letter to "Pietro et Davit de Neufville" is in the journal, 98r; cf. Edward's letter from Frankfort: "I have taken up a hundred rixdollars here, not having much money left."

²⁴⁸ Edward's sisters Elizabeth (born c. 1648), Mary (1652-1676) and Frances (born 1662), cf. Keynes, IV, ix-x; Thomas Bensley, a friend of the Browne family, cf. Keynes, IV, 17; 387.

²⁴⁹ Possibly Molenstede near Diest, halfway Antwerp and Maastricht; Moulin Brûlé is not shown on the 1656 map of Brabant by N. Visscher (UBL, Coll. Bodel Nijenhuis, port. 67, nr. 81), which shows many watermills along the river Demer.

²⁵⁰ An account of Browne's 1673 visit to Maastricht is on pp. 189-90 of his book (1687 ed.); cf. Skippon, 410: "We came to the outworks of Maastricht, where a sentinel rang a bell and the soldiers examined us, and then lifted up a great beam for our waggon to enter the gate."

²⁵¹ Built in 1659-65 by Pieter Post; Skippon also thought it looked like that of Amsterdam; cf. Browne, 111: "built of white stone; it has nine large windows in a row on each side, and within is very well painted by Theodorus van der Schuer, who was painter to the Queen of Sweden."

²⁵² The Vrijthof, with St. Servatius fountain and church; cf. Skippon, 411: "St. Servatius his church is handsome and is used by the Papists. The choir is raised high and underneath are chapels. We observed a great number of boys who came from school to hear mass."

²⁵³ Richards (1685), 4v-6r, spent a week sketching the fortifications and taking notes; cf. Skippon, 410: "The garrison consists of 31 foot companies (four or five of which were English and Scots) and six troops of horse"; Th. Browne's copy, 38v, reads: "for remedy of which disadvantage".

²⁵⁴ The glasshouse was in the Rechtstraat, near St. Martin's Church at Wijk (information from Municipal Archives Maastricht).

²⁵⁵ Cf. Skippon, 412: "We went by waggon up a hill near Maastricht; at the side of which hill is an arched passage [...]; this was probably some adit to a mine, for riding up the downs we saw three or four more such passages [...] From these hills we had a very pleasant prospect of Maastricht, the Meuse and the adjacent country."

²⁵⁶ Cf. Browne, 190 (in 1673): "About a quarter of a mile out of town, we went into the great quarry of stone, which is one of the noblest sure in the world [...] The roof is very high and stately in most places, the pillars not to be numbered, all very large, we passed two miles underground amongst them"; Ray, 48, wrote "it being a wet season, we made no stay to go into this vault", he copied the description from the *Phil. Transactions*, 67 (Jan. 16, 1670-71); Ellis, 1417, took the risk, which resulted in "a fit of an ague through its excessive chillness"; however, he could report to the Royal Society that the quarry was "3 hours in length and one in breadth and capable to shelter 100,000 men".

²⁵⁷ Between 1660 and 1670 a house De Roos on the marketplace was in use as a hostel, kept by Hendrik Bonnarts (information from Municipal Archives Maastricht).

²⁵⁸ Cf. Anon. 1711, 18: "We came over a very fine country, but wild and uninclosed to Aix-la-Chapelle."

APPENDIX II

JOHN LOCKE'S JOURNEY OF 1684

INTRODUCTION

When John Locke (1632-1704) arrived in Holland in September 1683, he had just reached the age of 51. He did not primarily come as a tourist: he did not keep a travel journal and his correspondents' reactions do not indicate that he wrote long letters describing the things he saw. Fortunately, however, he took care to document his stay in the private journal he had kept since his second trip abroad (to France) in 1675. By February 1689, after five and a half years in the United Provinces, he had come to know the country better than many of his fellow exiles, for he had moved around quite extensively. Until the end of 1686, he had lived mainly in Amsterdam, with a month at Leiden (Oct./Nov., 1684) and long periods at Utrecht, (particularly the winter of 1684-85). From the beginning of 1687, he stayed in Rotterdam with Benjamin Furly, in whose house many British travellers found a welcome. He often travelled between the various towns and apparently took time to go sightseeing, visiting places such as the tomb of William of Orange at Delft and the stadhuis at Haarlem (Sept. 18, 1683; May 1684). Three of his journeys lasted more than a month and may well have been undertaken as pleasure tours. We know very little about his trip from Amsterdam to Cleves (Sept./Oct. 1685) and the one he made with friends through the United Provinces in May and June 1686. However, his journal contains a rather detailed account of the tour he made in the summer of 1684.¹

His journal

The entries in Locke's journal from May to October 1684 comprise all sorts of personal memoranda (mostly on books, medicine and money; never on the people he met) together with notes on his journeys. The latter are much more concise than the entries he made during his travels in France, but in essence he recorded the same sort

of things. As in some other travel journals, there is a detailed account of the itinerary, the duration of each day's journey, the means of transport, and often the fare. There is only one entry on his accommodation at an inn. In this diary he tells relatively little about the cities, in some cases he just noted the name; the only public building he described at any length was the New Church at Groningen, which had not yet been mentioned in a guidebook. Other remarks which reflect his activities as a tourist concern modern industry (there are notes on weaving, bleaching and the burning of lime, pp. 77; 78; 110) and curiosities (camels and a ventriloquist).²

His journal tells us far less about Holland and its traditional sights than Browne's, but we come to know much more about the personal interests of the traveller himself. In his journal there are more remarks on the countryside than in the journals of most others. Locke commented on the people, especially their dress (111; 127; 129), on the peculiar shape of the farmhouses (108; 1685, 20-21) and on the general aspect of the countryside (171). Everything that was part of a system appealed to him. There is an entry on the Haarlem foot, which measured only 11 inches (77) and he regularly took very accurate measurements in universal feet (e.g. 110; 121). There is also a practically complete list of coins used in Holland (302-03). His interest in money matters can equally be seen in his notes on the fares, several entries on taxes (122-23; 172) and the note on the fees charged at the university, which take up more than half the entry on Franeker (112-13). Last but not least, there is religion, with two long descriptions of services he attended shortly before setting out on his journey (one in an Armenian church and another in a meeting house of the Collegiants, 100-03), as well as accounts of the two religious communities in Wieuwerd and Deventer.³

Why the 1684 journey was made

What the journal does not tell us is why the 1684 journey was undertaken, nor are there many clues in Locke's correspondence. It is possible to speculate that he went to Friesland to make political contacts with fellow exiles, many of whom lived there at that time (e.g. the Earl of Argyle, who owned an estate in Oudwoude, on the canal between Dokkum and Stroobos). Maybe Locke no longer felt safe in Holland after the arrest of Sir Thomas Armstrong in Leiden and his subsequent execution, and considered settling in Friesland, where one of his Dutch medical friends hailed from. It is equally possible that

Locke, after spending a year in Amsterdam, simply wanted to see more of the United Provinces. His friends or his new landlord, the bookseller and translator of works on chemistry, Jacob van der Velde, must have provided him with letters to the Rev. Yvon at Wieuwerd and to scholars in the universities of Franeker and Groningen. One of them was Professor Blancardus of Franeker, who later gave him a letter of introduction to the secretary of the stadholder of Friesland asking him to show “een waard Edelman uijt Engeland [called] Looock” the court and town, and to help him in any way he could. This journey also enabled him to call on Dr. Sibelius, one of his earliest friends in Amsterdam, who had only recently moved to Deventer in the province of Overijssel. Whatever the main purpose of the journey, it started with a visit to North-Holland, which by this time had become a must for tourists from abroad.⁴

Locke as a tourist in the United Provinces

As a tourist, Locke was extremely well equipped for his journey, since he owned many books on the United Provinces. Some of the small-size guidebooks, which formed part of his library in 1704, were presumably in his possession when he set out. They are De Laet (1630), Parival (1651), Boussingault (1668), Jouvin (1672, the second volume includes a description of Holland) and Patin (1674-76). Other works he may have had at his disposal in Holland were Monconys (1665-66) and Ray (1673); on 29 March he had bought the revised edition of the geographical dictionary by Ferrarius (1657; rev. by Baudrand, 1677). Between them they provided Locke with sufficient information about the sights, the government and the history of the places he was to visit.⁵

On Tuesday morning, August 15, Locke, probably accompanied by his servant Sylvester Brownover (or Brounower), set off for Alkmaar. Travellers who took the most direct route first crossed the river IJ to Buiksloot (fare 2½ st.), then took the trekschuit as far as Purmerend (2 hours) and covered the rest of the way by waggon, passing through the Beemster, one of the many lakes of North-Holland that had been turned into fertile land earlier in the century (in 1612). Alkmaar, the capital, though not the largest city of the region (Noorderkwartier), had a reputation for cleanliness and was an important cheese market. On Wednesday the travellers may have made an excursion to the ruins of an ancient castle near Egmond, which was mentioned in the guidebooks. The next day Locke took the shortest route to Enkhuizen,

unlike many other tourists who made a detour to visit the famous sea banks at Medemblik. After four hours in the trekschuit he arrived at Hoorn well in time for the waggon which left for Enkhuizen at 2 p.m. Locke must have felt much relieved when he finally arrived there around five o'clock, after having been hurried over a paved road in a vehicle without springs. Unfortunately there was not much to eat at the inn and some of the beds were distinctly uncomfortable.⁶

On Friday at nine o'clock, Locke embarked on the ferryboat for Workum in Friesland. Passengers could expect to arrive before six in the evening, but with a fair wind the crossing took no more than four or five hours. At Workum the travellers had sufficient time to inspect the lime kilns, as the boat for Bolsward only left at five. It must have been after seven that he arrived there, too late an hour to continue the journey to Franeker, so it was decided to spend the night at Bolsward. On Saturday, August 19, Locke arrived in the small university town of Friesland, where in the 1680s there were hardly any British students. Since it was the holiday period it is unlikely that Locke met any fellow countrymen. However, he was shown around by a knowledgeable guide (possibly Professor Blancardus), who told him everything he wanted to know, including the number of students, less than a third of that at Leiden. No doubt Locke spent Sunday reading and writing letters and when on Monday he set out for Leeuwarden, he may well have spent the 3½ hours in the trekschuit with the books mentioned in the journal: one by his friend Robert Boyle, the scientist and the other one by Johannes van der Waeyen, a professor of theology at Franeker.⁷

On the day after his arrival in the capital of Friesland, Locke set out for Wieuwerd, a village halfway between Leeuwarden and Sneek. It would seem that Locke made this trip mainly on behalf of his friend Damaris Cudworth, who had become a regular correspondent since they had first met in 1682. She had recently been thinking about retiring from the world and had become interested in the Labadist community at Wieuwerd. Just before he left Amsterdam, Locke had sent her a book written by Jean de Labadie (1610-74), the founder of the sect. Its members now lived on an estate belonging to the sisters of one of the richest men in the United Provinces, Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk who, together with their friend, the learned Anna Maria van Schuurman, had been followers of de Labadie. Thus, on 22 August, Locke reached the little lodge at some distance from the manor house, carrying a letter of introduction to the then leader, the

reverend Mr. Pierre Yvon, who to Locke's irritation only turned up after two hours and did not even offer to show him around. However, he and others talked gave Locke some information about their community, frequently quoting from the bible. After spending the night at Wieuwerd, a disappointed Locke returned to Leeuwarden and during the two hours in the trekschuit he may have written the detailed entry on the Labadists, possibly for later use in his correspondence.⁸

Back in Leeuwarden he did a certain amount of sightseeing: like other tourists he visited the Prince's court. It is characteristic of this part of Locke's journal that he does not mention the garden, the works of art or any of the rooms inside the palace. There is only a brief entry on the interior of the stables, where a wooden step enabled a little horse to reach its food. At 5 o'clock next morning (Thursday), Locke set out for Groningen, but after at least 12 hours in the trekschuit (changing boats at Dokkum and Stroobos) there was not much time or energy left for sightseeing. During his relatively lengthy stay in this city (at least from Thursday evening to Sunday morning) he visited the library of the small university and did not omit to inspect the fortifications for which the city was particularly famous. One sight he looked at in detail was the New Church (built in the same modern style as the New Church at The Hague), in which Locke carefully measured the distances between the pillars. On Sunday or Monday he must have returned to Leeuwarden, to arrive in time for the solemn entry of the newly married stadholder and his wife. No tourist who happened to be in the neighbourhood would have missed such an event.⁹

On Wednesday before the celebrations had ended Locke left Leeuwarden and spent two days at Sneek, a town where few tourists stopped. Did he meet the people of the Labadist community again or did he stay with some learned or political friend? In any event, on Saturday September 2, Locke continued his journey to Lemmer, which at that time was becoming the most important port of transit for passengers between Amsterdam and Friesland. The next day he embarked for Kampen. Whatever his business in Friesland had been, it had been dealt with and he was now on his way to Deventer to pay a visit to his friend Dr. Sibelius. The crossing was not particularly speedy; possibly due to lack of wind the travellers had to spend the night on the tiny island of Schokland, which may have struck Locke as completely cut off from the civilized world: there was hardly anything to eat and the women, who wore their hair loose, ran away

when they saw the passengers arriving. On Monday morning, after two or three hours' sailing, they must have reached Kampen, where Locke, like many other travellers in the east of the country, at once noticed the dirty streets, a marked difference from the neat towns in Holland and Friesland. He spent the following two nights at Zwolle, the capital of Overijssel before reaching Deventer on Wednesday, September 6, six days after he had left Leeuwarden.

Here Locke spent twelve days in the company of Dr. Sibelius; they celebrated his 52nd birthday (29 August O.S. = 8 September N.S.) and had long talks about medical questions, notes on which occupy more than thirty pages in the journal. Locke also wrote a letter to Damaris, probably with his observations on the two Protestant nunneries in this town, and, in particular, the description of the ceremony of the novice being received into the community.¹⁰

On Tuesday 19 September, Locke continued his journey along the river IJssel, put up for the night at Zutphen and the next day reached Arnhem, the capital of the province of Gelderland. On the way he stopped at Dieren to look at one of the Prince of Orange's country houses. After William III had become king of England, many British tourists visited this place; they generally liked the gardens but the house itself did not live up to their expectations. Locke only mentions the two camels the prince had just received as a present. On Thursday, he travelled to Nijmegen, preferring the more speedy though more expensive waggon to the schuit. The main object of his visit may well have been the famous collection of coins and antiquities belonging to the reverend Johannes Smetius, who unfortunately was not at home. Locke had now apparently come to the end of his sightseeing tour in the east of the country and the next day, Friday 22 September, he sailed down the river Waal to Gorkum, reaching Utrecht on September 23. His journal suggests that he did a fair amount of reading and writing during the two weeks he spent in this city. Again he does not say a word about his contacts with fellow countrymen, who were particularly numerous there, but he may very well have kept to himself. On October 10 he was back in Amsterdam after having been away for the best part of two months.¹¹

A note on the text

In the following passages from Locke's journal for 1684 (Bodleian Library, MS Locke f.8) he shows himself as a traveller through the United Provinces. The account of the journey to Friesland is preceded

by that of a short trip to Heemstede in May and a few observations made at Amsterdam. To these accounts have been added some details of his journey to Leiden, which he made in October (not printed by Dewhurst), a list of Dutch coins and (from his 1685 journal, MS Locke f.9) a description of a farm near Amsterdam.

The spelling and punctuation have been adapted to modern usage. Abbreviations have usually been written in full. Erasures have been left out. Words written in the margin are printed between { }; page numbers between < >; my additions, e.g. explanations of Latin, Greek or Dutch words and unusual words in English are between []. The spelling of Dutch words (e.g. treckschuyt) has been standardized.

Letter of introduction

Nicolaus Blancardus¹² to Ernest Vegelin van Claerbergen¹³, secretary to the Prince of Nassau.

[UBA MS Ba.10; folio folded up, sealed and addressed on the outside]

Viro nobilissimo Ernesto Vegelin de Claerbergen, Equiti ec. et illustrissimo Nassaviae Aulae Praefecto.

Edele Heer Vegelin,

Den toonder deser, d'Heer Loock, een waard Edelman uijt Engeland, alhier gecomen om dese Provincie te besien; sal sijn Ed. begroeten; versoeckende U.E. gedienselick, om 't geen op 't Hof en in Stadt waardigh is, vrundelick gelieve aan te wijsen en vordere adres te verlenen, soo veel doenlick is.

Edele Heer, verblijve U. Ed. genegen vrundt en dienaar

N. Blancardus

Franeker 1684, 10 Aug. [O.S.].

Translation:

To the most noble gentleman Ernest Vegelin van Claerbergen, Knight etc. and most illustrious master of the court of Nassau.

Honoured Mijnheer Vegelin,

The bearer of this letter, Mr. Locke, an excellent gentleman from England, who has come here to visit this province, will come and greet your honour; asking your honour to oblige him by graciously showing him what is worth seeing at Court and in the town, and being of further assistance as much as possible.

Honoured Sir, remaining your honour's affectionate friend and servant,
N. Blancardus

Franeker 1684, 10 August.

PASSAGES FROM LOCKE'S JOURNAL FOR 1684

[Bod. Lib. MS Locke f.8]

<77> Friday May 12

{Incle} From Amsterdam to Haarlem, 2.5 hours; there I saw a mill for weaving of incle or ribbon, where a man with the easy motion of one hand could weave at once 30 several pieces of incle.¹⁴

{Haarlem foot} I saw also in the townhouse several standards of measures kept in iron, amongst which was one which he that was with me told me, was their foot, which consisted of 11 inches whereof 3 were 230 grys, so that the Haarlem's foot <78> is to the universal 1 : 843.¹⁵

{Heemstede bleaching} From Haarlem to Heemstede 3 m. Hereabouts they bleach much linen; they wash it in soap, they soak it in lye several times and also in buttermilk; in washing they rub particularly the selvages; between these washings they lay it out on the grass, where it lies spread in the sun and is kept perpetually wet with sprinkling on of fair water; the process is too long and of too little consequence to be written all particularly.¹⁶

Here I saw a dog going in a wheel and churning butter; the wheel was about 9 foot diameter as I guessed.

Monday May 15

From Heemstede to Amsterdam 10 m.

<100> Sunday July 30

The Armenian priest going to say the service was habited in a cap without brims, on the top of which stood a cross. In a whitish silk cope on which behind was a large red satin cross as long as the cope,

a great high collar; that collar that stood at a distance from his neck and reached up halfway his head. He had under his cope a surplice, girt close about his middle with a girdle and upon that [left blank in MS] on his shoulders. He was assisted by one in a surplice.

He began with crossing and bowing <101> to the altar. After some few words, which I suppose a prayer, he pulled off his cap and was shaved more Romano [after the Roman fashion]. The service is in the Armenian tongue, the species are elevated before consecration, both together covered. After consecration separately, the priest keeping his face to the altar and afterwards again the cup in his hand and a part of the wafer held over it, he turns about to the people and holds it there. All these times the people on their knees beat their breasts and say something. They consecrate in unleavened bread. The priest breaks the wafer and soaks it in the wine and so takes it. Towards the later end of the service he that assists kisses the cope of the priest and then kisses the shoulders of him that is next on both sides, which he that received returns and so goes to the next and so this kissing goes round. After the service is done the priest holding the new testament in his hand descends from the altar and <102> so standing with his face turned to the people, they all come one after another and kiss the cover of the book, which was of silver and most of them also kiss the priest's hands and then by the assistant have each of them a little bit given them of the same bread (but unconsecrated) that the wafer was made of that was consecrated. The wafer is made of nothing but flour and water. In crossing, bowing, incense and other things they agree much with the Roman ceremonies, only they incense all the persons present; a crucifix stands on their altar. They give not the cup to the laity but only the wafer dipped in the wine.¹⁷

The Collegiants pray both in the beginning and end and conclude with the Lord's prayer; the rest <103> of their prayer is extempore. Anyone that finds himself moved, has the liberty to speak. One sang a psalm alone; he that sang or spoke or prayed stood up and was bare; and when they prayed, all were bare and many stood, others in their seats were in a kneeling posture. They admit to their communion all Christians and hold it our duty to join in love and charity with those who differ in opinion.¹⁸

[...] <106> Monday August 7

The water in the Burgwalls (i.e. the canals in the streets) being stirred in the night, it looks like fire and I thought I saw as it were sparks of

fire rise of themselves out of it; which is not to be thought strange, since Mr. Dare and others <107> have told me that some nights walking along by them, one may see little flashes rise, as thick as drops fall in a shower of rain, which I also have since seen.¹⁹

[...] Tuesday August 15

From Amsterdam to Alkmaar, 6 hours; a pretty little town, very clean but that seems rather in a decaying than thriving condition. The church large and high <108> and built like a cathedral.²⁰ The great merchandise of the town is cheese, which the pastures round about it furnish it with; it is about a league and a half from Egmond, the ancient seat of the Counts of Egmont, which family is now extinct and the old castle there come to ruin.²¹

Thursday August 17

From Alkmaar to Hoorn by treckschuyt; 3 ³/₄ hours; fare 7st.:2. It is a large town on the Zuiderzee, much bigger than Alkmaar but not half so clean.²² From Hoorn to Enkhuizen 3 hours per waggon; fare 14 st.; the way all pitched with clinkers and almost all along, beset with boors' houses, almost as if it were one street; the boors' houses are all of a pretty odd fashion, the barn joining to the dwelling-<109> house and making a part of it; they are generally thatched and have but one tun [chimney pot] and scarce two storeys.²³

Enkhuizen is almost as big as Hoorn but not so well built; they have each of them a very fair East-India house, which looks the most handsome and stately of anything in the town; some parts of Enkhuizen that are farthest off from the sea look decaying enough.²⁴

Here I lay at the sign of the Golden Tun and there supping with 5 others, where we had nothing but a salad and two old hens, ill-dressed and a little ill melon; I paid for my supper and bed f2:14, whereof 10 st. was for my man's supper and 8 st. for his bed. In the same house 23 years since, lay as they say the King <110> for a whole week together in a little room over the kitchen in a cupboard bed about 5.000 gr. long.²⁵

Friday August 18

From Enkhuizen to Workum 4 leagues; fare 13 st.; for my portman-teau 2 st.; at landing 1 st.; at the entrance before landing the land is secured against the sea for almost a mile by long piles, driven into the bottom by the bank's side, a little inclining towards the bank, close

one by another; each whereof, as we were told, cost to be there so placed, a ducat i.e. *f*5. At the entrance of the town are about 30 or 40 lime kilns. The lime they make is all of cockle shells picked upon the sea strand, which laying with turf S.S.S. [layer upon layer], they burne to lime.²⁶

The town of Workum is only one long street, poorly enough built <111> and inhabited mostly by seamen. The ordinary women went most bare-legged, but that which most surprised me was to see them have woollen cloth stockings, reaching down to the small of their legs close laced, and yet to go barefoot, in which fashion I saw several of them.

From Workum to Bolsward 2 h. per treckschuyt, 4 st. A little town but fenced. I saw nothing very remarkable in it but the council chamber in the townhouse, which was covered an inch thick or more with sand for cleanliness sake.²⁷

Saturday August 19

From Bolsward to Franeker 4 l[eagues] by sailing, 4 st. It is a little fortified town that one may walk round in half an hour and a university; <112> the schools and library are not extraordinary, which shows that knowledge depends not on the stateliness of buildings etc., since this university has produced many learned men, and has now some very learned amongst its professors. The professors are 13 or 14 and the scholars commonly about 300.²⁸ In their schools they have the pictures of all their professors, a thing worthy imitation in other places. Anyone may take his degree of doctor here, in any faculty (for they scarce take any other) when he pleases, other abilities and not time being only looked after. The fees for it are as follows,

pro inscriptione apud magnificum, which is a sort of	
matriculation	<i>f</i> 6:6
pro recensione, which is an appendix of matriculation	0:12
pro tentamine, which is visiting the professors of your	
faculty and being examined in private	12:12
pro examine	18:18
pro promotione	112:8
pro remissione disputationis	15:0
<113> pro ministris acad.	6:6
pro diplomate	<u>6:6</u>
	178:8

Besides a collation for the professors of your faculty and some others of the university.²⁹

In Friesland they use still the old style. The land is generally better than in Holland, some worth f30 per morge, but they say the taxes amount to half the value of taxable land, for that which anciently belonged to monasteries etc. keeps still its old privilege and escapes taxes.³⁰

Monday August 21

From Franeker to Leeuwarden 3½ h. per treckschuyt, 6 st.

Johannis van der Waeyen, *Ad philalethium Eliezerem* <114> *adversus nuperas Fred. Spanhemii literas epistola*, 8°, *Franequerae* 83 § 395

Sueur in *eleganti opere* quod inscripsit *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire* (Waeyen ²⁶⁸/₃₉₅). An *Hydrostatical discourse* occasioned by the objections of Dr. More, by Mr. Boyle, 176. The intelligent Oviedo (Boyle ⁹⁹/₁₇₆) has many notable observations.³¹

Tuesday August 22

From Leeuwarden to Wieuwerd 2 h. per treckschuyt, 4 d.³²

Here in Mr. Somerdike's house is the church of the Labadists, now under the charge of Mr. Yvon.³³ They receive all ages, sexes and degrees upon appro- <115> bation after trial. They live all in common and whoever is admitted, is to give with himself all that he has to the Lord: i.e. to the church, which is managed by officers appointed by the church. For it is a fundamental miscarriage (and such as will deserve cutting off) to possess anything in property. Those who are obliged by any reason to go abroad, or for their health should be obliged to live abroad, have allowance made them by the church out of their common stock. Their rule is the word of God and mutual brotherly love one to another. The discipline whereby they prevent or correct offences are first brotherly reprehension, if that suffice not, the next is suspension from the Sacrament and also from their common table, if this makes not an amendment they cut him off <116> from their body. They meet every morning about 5 of the clock, where some discourse is made to them upon some place of Scripture, before and after which they pray and then they go every one about their private occupations; for they have amongst them of almost all trades, nobody is compelled to work by any set rule, but they do it out of an instinct of charity and duty. At dinner there is read to them some parcel of Scripture, which is commonly the subject of their discourse during the meal. At supper they sing a psalm. Though they hold not

any obligation on them to observe the Sunday by the law either of Moses or the Gospel, yet not to scandalise others they work not that day <117>, but in cases of necessity; and therefore they assemble and preach twice that day. They say that a Christian's whole life ought to be a Sabbath from sin. Baptism they administer not, but to grown people who show themselves to be Christians by their lives as well as professions. This is all they differ in from the Reformed churches of these countries and in their interpretation of the Old and New Covenant, that being as they understand it the Law of Moses, consisting in exterior services and typical of the New covenant, which is the Gospel consisting in a spiritual worship.

Their clothes are plain and modest, their mien and behaviour demure and a little affected if I mistake not. They are very civil one to <118> another as well as to strangers, carefully saluting one another with their hats as often as they meet.

They have been here these 9 years and as they tell me, increase daily, but yet I could not learn their number though I asked both Mr. Yvon and Mr. Van der Mulen, which were those I had most conversation with; the latter telling me above a hundred and the former about 80. They are very shy to give an account, particularly about their manner and rule of living and discipline, and it was with much difficulty I got so much out of them; for they seemed to expect that a man should come there disposed to desire and court admittance into their society, without inquiring <119> particularly into their ways, and if the Lord as they say, dispose him to it and they see the signs of grace in him, they will proceed to give him further instructions and further trial and if at last they judge him right, admit him; which signs of grace seem to me to be at last a perfect submission to the will and rules of their pastor Mr. Yvon, who if I mistake not, has established to himself a perfect empire over them. For though both officers' censures and all their administration be in appearance in the church, yet it is easy to perceive how at last it determines in him and he is dominus factotum [the master who decides on everything]. And though I believe they are much separated from the world and are generally speaking people of very good and exemplary <120> lives, yet the tone of the voice, mien and fashion of those I conversed with, seemed to make some suspect a little of Tartuffe amongst them. Besides that, all their discourse carries with it a supposition of more purity in them than ordinary and as if nobody were in the way to heaven but they, not without a mixture of canting in referring things immediately to the Lord, even in those

occasions and instances where one inquires after the rational means and measures of proceeding, as if they did all things by revelation.

It was above two hours after I came, before I could receive audience of Mr. Yvon, though recommended by a friend and had a letter for him. There was no Assembly the morning, Mr. Yvon being as I was told, sick and I saw him not when I came away. And how many offers soever I <121> made towards it, I could not be admitted to see either their place of exercise, or eating or any of their chambers in the house, but was kept all the while I was there, in atrio gentium [in the room for the Gentiles], a little house without the gate; for as I said before, they seemed very shy of discovering the secreta domus [the secrets of the house], which seemed to me not altogether so suitable to the pattern of Christianity.

Wednesday August 23

From Wieuwerd to Leeuwarden 2 h. 4 st.

The mangers here in the Prince's stables were almost 4.500 high and the rack proportionable, so that for a little horse that was there, they were fain to make a wooden step for him to stand on with his forefeet, to reach his meat. The horses being <122> tied with chains and the mangers faced with latten [yellow metal like brass], it made a most terrible rattling.³⁴

Thursday August 24

From Leeuwarden to Dokkum 4 h. 7 st.³⁵ From Dokkum to Groningen 8h. 18 st.

Groningen is a big town very regularly fortified, with 17 bastions; the distance of each 470 steps;³⁶ the taxes here are for every chimney *f*5 per annum; for every grown person *f*1 per annum; boys at school half so much; besides excise on beer, wine, bread and everything; a hogshhead of French or Rhenish wine pays *f*36 per hogshhead; brandy *f*78 <123> per hogshhead; other things in proportion; they pay so much a head for their cattle v.g. [left blank in MS] and besides all, near half the value of their land for land tax. Here is a university; 8 professors; their schools 3 little rooms; their library a long gallery, 2 sides of a square, it is open twice a week; the catalogue of their books printed is 171 pages in a small folio.³⁷

{Tyrell 28} 19 instant sent Mr. Old a receipt for £14:2:10, which he paid to Mr. J. Tyrell, being money received from the college, due for the 2 last quarters. (vide p. 174).³⁸

Friday August 25

Saturday August 26

From Groningen to Leeuwarden the same way.

<124> Tuesday August 29

Henric Casimir, prince of Nassau, Governor and Captain-General of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, having about 8 months since married the princess of Anhalt, made his public and solemn entry into Leeuwarden, the capital city of Friesland, at the public charge of the States. The cavalcade and solemnity was suitable to the greatness of the government. That which I observed particular in it, was that when the Prince and his Princess (with their two mothers and the Princess of Simmern, their aunt and their two sisters) were unlighted at his house and had rested a little, he took the ladies with him down into the court, and there placing them in chairs <125> just within the outward gate, which stood open, he himself stood bare just without the gate, whilst the Burgers [freemen], who were all that day in arms, marched by and saluted him with firing their muskets as they passed. This lasted well nigh two hours, whilst the burgers and soldiers that were that day in arms, marched by and after that they went to supper; some of the gent[ry] of the country and some of the chief of his officers supped with him and the ladies and as I think it was a page said grace. He is about 28 years old, little and not very handsome, but as they say, a man of parts, loving and well beloved of his country. His lady is of a younger branch of the house of Hanault [i.e. Anhalt] and her father <126> at present is marshall to the Duke of Brandenburg.³⁹

Wednesday August 30

This evening the Prince of Nassau and the Princess etc. were treated at supper by the deputies of the States of the province, at an Herberg [public house] in the town and were after supper entertained with fireworks.

Thursday August 31

And this day, to conclude the compliment, they are entertained at dinner by the States at the College as they call it, i.e. where the States use to keep their assembly.⁴⁰

From Leeuwarden to Sneek 4 h. per treckschuyt 8 st.⁴¹

Friday September 1

<127> Saturday September 2

From Sneek to Lemmer 4 l[eagues].⁴²

Sunday September 3

From Lemmer to Ens, a little fishing village in an island in the Zuiderzee, where we could get nothing but butter, cheese and eggs. The women who ran away at our first coming, afterwards appeared; they wear their hair hanging loosely dishevelled over their shoulders.⁴³

Monday September 4

From Ens to Kampen, a town that appears neither strong, handsome nor rich and the dirtiest I have hitherto seen in these provinces.⁴⁴

<128> From thence to Zwolle 3 h. per treckschuyt 6 st.

At Groningen is a new church, one of the prettiest I ever saw. It is an equilateral square, the middle of the roof supported by 4 pillars, standing at the corners of a square distant 13,000; from thence to the end of the cross 1000, one half whereof is supported by an arch, the other is wall and window. The 4 corners without, filled with 4 little houses for 3 church officers and a vestry; through the middle of these you enter into the church so that below without, it is an octogon.⁴⁵
[very faint sketch of church plan]

<129> Tuesday 5 September

Zwolle is a much bigger town than Kampen, but yet not much better built nor cleaner, though stronger. Here I first saw two things which I had not hitherto met with, in all the provinces, viz. oaks, wherewith their bulwarks are set and sabots.⁴⁶

Wednesday September 6

From Zwolle to Deventer per wagen 6 h. f1:10st.⁴⁷

Friday September 8

It is a fashion here in Deventer, when anyone is dead, to hang out a lantern at the door by day, till the corpse is buried; a little lantern if it be a child and a great one if it be a grown person, for they use very big lanterns in this town, wherein they <130> put 3 or 4 candles.⁴⁸ Here are two Protestant nunneries in this town. The one belongs to the freemen of the town and their daughters only are admitted. There

are 14 of them; they live all together in one house, two in a chamber, the oldest is abbess of course; the puny of all must take most pains in keeping clean the public places of the house. Besides their houseroom, they have each a little garden and their dividend of the corn of some land which belongs to them, which amounts to 3 or 4 bushels of rye per annum; besides that they used to have formerly a dividend every year of about 30 or 35 guilders, but now they say these 2 or 3 last years it falls short, and they receive little or nothing. Their meat and drink they provide each for themselves and dress it in a common kitchen in the summer; in the winter in <131> their chambers.

They go abroad at full liberty but must not stay out at night without the permission of the abbess; if they do, their money will be detained at the end of the year.

They are under the government of 2 burgomasters, 2 others and the secretary of the town. When anyone dies, is married or expelled, the governors nominate her successor, which must be a grown virgin. At her admittance she makes a feast to which, besides the governess and the other sisters, she invites whom she pleases of her friends, amongst which she chooses one young man to be her bridegroom for that day and two others for bridesmen; this feast is kept in a room of the convent and she placed in the middle of the table in the inside, and her bridesmen on each side of her; and if there be young men enough invited, they are all <132> placed by the nuns alternatim; the bridegroom waits on his bride. And thus, after the innocent pageantry of a wedding, she is admitted into this nunnery, only by promising obedience to the rules of it.

This was formerly, before the reformation, a convent of Catholic nuns, and when in the late wars the Bishop of Münster was possessed of this town two years together, he put 3 Catholic maids into this nunnery, which remain there still under the same rules with the others.⁴⁹

There is besides this, another nunnery in this town, only of the noblesse of the two provinces of Overijssel and Gelderland. They have each 400 guilders per annum, half whereof the abbess has for their board, the other half they have themselves to dispose of as they please. Neither of these sort of nuns have any distinct habits, but are clothed as their neighbours <133> and these latter are often at home with their friends in the country.⁵⁰

Friday September 15

[medical notes printed in Dewhurst pp. 246-60]

<170> Tuesday 19 September

From Deventer to Zutphen 2 h. per wagen 10 st.; a town much less than Deventer, but not so well situated.⁵¹

Wednesday 20 September

From Zutphen to Arnhem per wagen 5 h. 25 st. In the midway is Dieren, where the prince of Orange has a house, more considerable for the <171> pleasant country about it, than for its largeness or beauty; here we saw two camels, which the Count of Waldeck sent the Prince (taken amongst others in the rout of the Turks); the taller was near about 7.000 high; they were both males; the stones placed as in a greyhound and the sheath of the penis hung low under the belly and opened backwards; they seem a creature made for labour by their patience and submissiveness and small feeding one eats not so much as a horse; their food hay and a paste made of rye meal; upon bidding they lie down, resting on their sternum.⁵²

From Dieren to Arnhem is a pleasant country; the borders of their cornfields set with rows of oaks 2, 3 or 4 deep, which makes it look like a country full of woods; the soil sandy and dry, but not unfruitful.⁵³

Thursday September 21

From Arnhem to Nijmegen⁵⁴ per wagen 2 h. 18 st. Nijmegen is situated on a rise on the side of the Waal. An ancient <172> town, wherein they show some remains of an old Roman building to which they entitle Julius Caesar. In their townhouse are some ancient inscriptions found about the town. One Mr. Smetius, a minister of this town, they say has a great collection of coins and other antiquities, but I had not the good luck to meet with him at home.⁵⁵

The upper Betuwe, lying betwixt the Waal and the Rhine, pays £50,000 per annum land tax; Mr. Taylor receiver; if they pay not their tax, the receiver sends and distrains [seizes] if he finds not goods enough he sells the land, which is a good title. The upper Betuwe reaches from Schenkenschans between the Waal and the Rhine to Tiel and Ingen exclusively.⁵⁶

Friday September 22

<173> From Nijmegen to Gorkum, down the Waal 14 hours, 14 st.; by the way are two pretty little towns, Tiel and Bommel, both fortified.⁵⁷

Saturday September 23

From Gorkum to Vianen⁵⁸; wagon 4 h. *f*4. From Vianen to Utrecht per treckschuyt 2 h. 4½ st.

Coming down the Waal, there was on board the vessel with us, a French gentleman, called as I remember, Mr. Beauregard, who so well answered a moor in the vessel with a voice from within, that he not only deceived the moor, but most part of the people in the vessel and me too at first; the voice seeming to come from the shore, which was a good way off and it had so much a sound like that of a man at a good distance <174>, that had I not once before heard an ἐνγασ-τριομυθος [ventriloquist] talk at Paris, I had certainly been deceived with the rest; the voice was so natural and coming from his mouth without any motion of his lips, or at least such as was not very discernable. This man far exceeding him I had heard before.⁵⁹

{Tyrell}	Mr. Tyrell received of Mr. Old	
{28}	for half a year's allowance	£14: 2:10
{29}	paid Syl's battles ⁶⁰	02: 0: 0
{28}	received of Mr. P.	07: 3:11
	vide 4 August; vide p. 123	
	He has received Capellus and Crell. ⁶¹	

Thursday September 28

[notes on medicine and reading, cf. Dewhurst, 260]

<176> Saturday September 30

Removed to Mrs Gremons and paid all at the Jerusalem.⁶² [...]

<203> Tuesday October 10

From Utrecht to Amsterdam, 8h. 13½ st. [...]

<204> Sunday October 15

From Amsterdam to Haarlem; 2½ hours, *f*0:7

From Haarlem to Leiden 4½ hours, *f*0:12½

Friday October 20

Received of Mr. Loth. Gael *f*140:0 for which I drew a bill on Mr. Dare payable at sight to Mr. Anthony Pauw.⁶³

Sunday October 22

Monday October 23

The young Gronovius, son of <205> the famous [left blank in MS] Gronovius, made a solemn oration in the school; his subject was the original of Romulus; at it were present the curators of the university and the professors, each apart solemnly ushered in by the university beadle. Music of instruments and vocal began and concluded the scene, which they say is usual on such occasions and to that purpose there is an organ in the school, which is a handsome large room, but very moderately adorned. There was a woman [who] sang well. The harangue itself began with a very magnificent and long compliment to the curators and then something being said to the professors and scholars, he came to the main business, which was to show that Romulus was not an Italian born, but came from the east and was of Palestine or thereabouts; this as I remember was the design of his oration, which lasted almost 2 hours.⁶⁴

[...] <206> Sunday October 29

In the French church here, Joseph Scaliger lies buried, with a high elogium in a table in the wall; he was here honorary professor.⁶⁵

Monday October 30

The physic garden is but little, but is well stored with plants, especially from the East Indies. There is besides a repository of natural rarities.⁶⁶

[more on Locke's stay in Leiden in Dewhurst pp. 261-266; he returned to Amsterdam on 18 November]

<302-03>	1 Duijt		1 Gout Gulden	28 Stuijvers
	1 Oortie	2 Duijts	1 Daelder	30 Stuijvers
	1 Groot	4 Duijts	1 Croon	40 Stuijvers
	1 Blanck	6 Duijts	1 Rijcks Daelder	50 Stuijvers
	1 Stuijver	8 Duijts	1 Ducaton	63 Stuijvers
	1 Braspenning	10 Duijts	1 pondt Groot or	6 Gulden
	1 Stoter	20 Duijts	pondt Vlaems	
	1 Real	28 Duijts	1 Ducat O	5 Gulden
	1 Schelling	6 Stuijvers	1 Rose Noble O	11 Gulden
	1 Gulden	20 Stuijvers	Gouwe Ducaton f	15 Gulden ⁶⁷

FROM LOCKE'S JOURNAL FOR 1685

[Bod. Lib. MS Locke f.9]

<20> Wednesday August 28

I saw a boor's house about a mile or more from Amsterdam. The people and the cows live all in the same room in the winter, there being place for about 24 cows on both sides, with a larger place to pass between them in the middle, to which their heads are turned. The place they stand on is raised a little above the pavement and just all along by it, ran a row of white marble paviers, about 15 or 18 inches square, on which their meat was laid and behind was a gutter all along, to receive and carry away their dung and urine. At the upper end of this room was a partition of about breast high, of boards which separated a square place where the people lived; there was an iron place for the fire in the middle with a loover hole [chimney] in the roof to let out the smoke (for all the whole room <21> is open, quite up to the thatch); here was also three pigeonhole beds after the Dutch fashion and though this was in truth but a part of the stall, wherein the people and their beasts live together (for below the pens for the cows was a place for a horse or two, all in the same room), yet the whole room and everything in it, was much cleaner than one shall see anything [sic], in any kitchen, nay most of the finest parlours in England; for indeed, nothing could be more nicely clean. The same day I saw in the same neighbourhood just such another, only with this difference that it was black marble instead of white and there was a chimney at the upper end instead of a fireplace in the middle. Between this and the front of the house, which is the end of it turned towards the way, they have a room wherein I suppose strangers are usually received, who enter at the front by that which one may call the street door, for there is a door also by this side, which opens into the ordinary dwelling place and another at the lower end.⁶⁸

NOTES

¹ For a full account of Locke's stay in Holland see Ashcraft, 406ff, Colie, *Correspondence* (detailed chronological lists), Cranston, Dewhurst and Thijssen-Schoute; Delft, Thijssen-Schoute, 92; Furly, Brockman, 59v: "Lodged at B. Furley's, English merchant in Skipmakers haven", also 67v and 91r; Grey (June 1690) also did business with him; Haistwell, 237; Penn, 67.

² On the French section of Locke's journal, cf. Lough, *Introd.* (comments on inns are frequent); a description of an elephant and its diet is on p. 153.

³ For lists of French coins, cf. Lough, 24; 217-18; for Locke's remarks on religion, taxes etc in France, cf. Lough, *index*.

⁴ Cf. *Correspondence*, II, 640; D. Cudworth (8 Oct., 1684) did not know why he went to Friesland; Ashcraft, 416-28, stresses his contacts with fellow exiles; one of his friends, A. Cyprianus was from Friesland (cf. Colie, 114); Argyle, cf. Willcock, 322-23; Brockman, 58, mentions Mr. Cooke and Mr. Neale, who planned to set up a "woollen manufacture" in Leeuwarden; letter from N. Blancardus, cf. *infra*; Van Limborch and Sladus provided him with letters of introduction to scholars at Utrecht in Nov./Dec. 1684 (cf. *Correspondence*, II, 652-57, letters 792-94); Locke lodged with Van der Velde from 19 July 1684 (*Correspondence*, II, 769); cf. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic*, nrs. 571-73; Van der Velde also published most of Yvon's works, cf. Hoftijzer (1987), 182; 196; Caspar Sibelius (1646-96), cf. *Correspondence*, II, 633.

⁵ The books were in Locke's library, cf. Harrison nrs. 1657; 2196; 407a; 1590a; 2231-32; 2016; 2446; 1111/a; Baudrand, bought for f3:15 (*Journal 1684*, 29 March).

⁶ Cf. Baillie, 387-88: "A route for seeing North-Holland"; Buiksloot fare: 1 st. (Denne, 22); *Some Necessary Directions*: 2½ st.; there were boats for Purmerend at 6, 8, 11 and 14 h. (*Reisboek*, 1689, 115), from here to Alkmaar waggons were used; cf. De Vries, 63; *Reisboek*, under the headings of the various cities, e.g. waggon Hoom to Enkhuizen at 6, 10, 14 and 18 h.; Medemblik, cf. Jaucourt, 451-52; Fitzwilliam, 20r; Monconys, 173; uncomfortable waggons, cf. chap. 2, par. 31.

⁷ For Locke's journey in Friesland, cf. also Van Strien and Breuker; Franeker, cf. Calamy, 185: "When we came to Franeker and Groningen, it being vacation time, we missed seeing the professors on whom we would have gladly waited, and could only see the schools and the libraries"; size of Leiden university, Molyneux, 473, 16 professors, students not more than 700 or 800; Drake, 5: 800 students; Carr, 10-11: 1,000, over 80 British; Anon. 1686, 18r: 1300; Mountague, 96: about 2,000; same number in *The English Atlas*, 174 (probably from Parival, 53); matriculations at Leiden were three to four times higher than at Franeker, cf. Jensma, 57; Sir Robert Boyle (1627-1691), cf. *DNB*; Joh. van der Waeyen, cf. n. 31.

⁸ Book sent, cf. *Journal*, Aug. 5; *Correspondence*, II, 640 (8 Oct. O.S.); Damaris wrote: "I cannot but fancy by your letter that you have learnt more scripture there than ever you knew in your whole life before"; Locke probably wrote his letter in Leeuwarden on 23 August or on 24 Aug. N.S. during his 14-hour journey to Groningen. Damaris answered it on 25 Aug./4 Sept.; her letter of 8 Oct. is a second reaction.

⁹ Cf. Parival, *Dialogues*, 82: "Groningen, plus recommandable pour ses fortifications que pour son université."

¹⁰ Cf. Damaris' reaction of 15 Jan., 1685 (*Correspondence*, II, 678); Old Style was also in use in Overijssel; the notes are printed by Dewhurst, 246-60 (= ff. 133-69).

¹¹ Cf. Thijssen-Schoute, 94-95; Walker, "English Exiles in Holland".

¹² N. Blancardus (1625-1703), professor of history and Greek at the Illustere School in Middelburg (1650-66). He subsequently settled in Heerenveen as a physician and soon became known at the court in Leeuwarden. Tutor to Hendric Casimir (c.1667) and in 1669 professor of Greek language and history at Franeker; cf. W.B.S. Boeles, *Frieslands Hoogeschool*, II, 247-51. Dr. Ph.H. Breuker kindly drew my attention to this letter.

¹³ Philip Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen (1613-1693), master of the household at the court of Leeuwarden; he corresponded with Robert Boyle; cf. *De vrije Fries*, 35 (1939), 5.

¹⁴ Cf. Carr, 13 "They have mills by which they can weave 40 or 50 pieces at a time"; cf. Mountague, 107; Leake, 15r: "The chief of their trade consists in linen cloth, which may be had cheaper and is better than anywhere else in the whole province of Holland"; cf. Fraser, 95r: "Here I met Giles Mortimer, a Scotsman, ribband weaver at Haarlem"; Skippon, 409, on Vianen: "We saw tape weaving by a wheel, which moves many shuttles at a time. This is forbidden at Utrecht under pain of death, and is prohibited in the cities of Holland, except Haarlem"; cf. Ray, 41; Hope, 160-61, with a detailed description.

¹⁵ Locke owned a brass ruler with which he measured objects in universal feet (cf. *Journal*, July 2, 1678). During his stay in France he often referred to his system; cf. Lough, 161; 185: "the 10th part of which foot I call an inch, the 10th part of that inch a line and the 10th part of a line a gry; so that the English foot is 9 inches 2 lines 0 gryes of the philosophical foot and consequently the English inch 7 lines and 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ gryes"; cf. also *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Book IV, chap. 10, par. 10; cf. *Journal* 1684, 16 March: "1 Rheylands foot equal to one English foot; 1 Amsterdam foot $\frac{11}{12}$ English"; the Haarlem (= Amsterdam) foot is 0.283 m.; the Rhineland (= Leiden) foot 0.313 m.; the English foot 0.3047 m.

¹⁶ Mountague, 107: "Their bleacheries surpass all other whatsoever; their water whitening cloth better than any other in the 17 provinces; they use buttermilk frequently to make their linen look so delicately" (most of this from Carr, 13).

¹⁷ The church was on the Dwars Boomsloot (*Teg. Staat*).

¹⁸ From 1640 on, Collegianten met in various cities in the United Provinces. Its members were usually well-to-do citizens with a Remonstrant or other dissenting background; several of Locke's acquaintances belonged to or sympathised with this movement; cf. Colie, 115.

¹⁹ Thomas Dare, former alderman of Taunton and political friend of Shaftesbury. He helped Monmouth to organize his invasion (*Correspondence*, II, 623-24; Ashcraft, 411); water "burning", cf. Browne, *Journal*, Aug. 14.

²⁰ Cf. Parival, *Dialogues*, 81: "Après la ville de Leiden, je crois que c'est la plus nette du pays"; Neville, 43: "Alkmaar is too neat but by the cleanliness of the people is kept from the plague"; Carr, 142, lists the number of houses in each city in Holland, e.g. Alkmaar 1540, Hoorn 3400, Enkhuizen 5,200, Haarlem 7,250, Leiden 13,800, Amsterdam 25,460; cf. Fitzwilliam, 20v: "Alkmaar the chiefest and fairest town of North-Holland [...] The great church is great and very well built, in it we saw the seven works of mercy, very curiously painted and of an inestimable price; in the chancel there is a picture of the Last Judgement, very well done"; Anon. 1695-99, 14: "Very large and neat but not populous, with broad streets and one great church wherein is two pair of organs and many fine branches."

²¹ Cheese: Neville, 43: "There is a market Thursdays and Fridays, cheese of all sorts is a great commodity"; Jaucourt, 451 (1686-87): "Il se vend quelquefois jusqu'à 400 mille livres pesant de fromage dans un marché"; Mountague, 207: "They have here a very fine market and the greatest variety of sorts we ever saw, some made with aniseeds, some of cummin seeds, other of sheep's milk discoloured with green, all very indifferently tasted; [...] the very best was far short of our Cheddar or Cheshire; we had also Parmesan cheese, about 14 pence English money per pound, which indeed

is firm and well tasted, but not so mellow and delicious as ours"; Egmond: Van Buchell, 277 (1591) and Mountague (205-06) also went to see the ruins; Isham, 39, walked out to Bergen "an hour off, a village just by the sandhills on the seashore and an indifferent house, but we went to see it, being told it was a good one"; cf. Guicciardini, III, 138-39; Parival, 163; cf. Rademaker, I, plates 36-40.

²² Cf. Isham, R, IV, 4: "We twice changed boats, first at Rustenberg [Rustenburg] then at Avenhorn villages"; Idem, 39-40: "The town is old, pretty large and ill paved. The great church is well enough with its roof painted [...] Other public buildings I saw were the stadthuis, which is very old and the seacourt"; East-India House, cf. chap. 4, n. 50.

²³ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 20r: "We took the Apostels post horses and so went to Enkhuizen"; most travellers comment on the fine street and the fact that the towns almost touched each other; Moryson, I, 201 (JJ, 249-50); Anon. 1669, 59r; Anon. 1691, 30: "I came in a waggon to Hoorn, all the way is paved with bricks set edgeways, it being all a street except some few interstices, so that the town is at least 6 miles long"; Leake, 18r: "We observed that the Papists in these parts distinguish their houses from those of the Reformed by putting I.H.S. and a cross over their doors; there are not a few dwellings furnished with this discriminating mark."

²⁴ Enkhuizen, which had been a thriving city in the beginning of the century, had lost most of its trade by 1700. When the East-India company was founded Enkhuizen contributed 3 times as much money as Rotterdam, cf. Browne, n. 230; Fitzwilliam, 20r: "This town seems to be very great by reason its houses are dispersedly built one from another. The chief things to be seen here are the East-India house and the house of Mr. Steinbergen, wherein are curious waterworks and a chamber of rarities, which is precious and can scarcely be equalized in Europe"; cf. also Isham, 40.

²⁵ Cf. Anon. 1669, 59r: "a cursed dear place for strangers as I found it"; servants apparently paid half the price, 18 + 36 st. = 54 st. = £2:14; Thijssen-Schoute, 94, reads: "Golden Hen"; in September 1658 Charles II, on his way from Amsterdam to Friesland was stormbound in Enkhuizen (cf. Scott, 367-68); the length of the box bed was 5 universal feet i.e. about 65 inches; cf. Thornhill, 35: "It is enough to break your heart to get into the bed and is dangerous lest you break your neck as you get out again; and are so short that it is impossible for a short man to lie at length; there are leeboards to keep you from falling out in the night and which can be but on one side, because generally against the side of the room, like those in a hospital or a press bed"; cf. journal 1685, Aug. 28 (infra) and Pepys, 139.

²⁶ Passengers who sailed from Enkhuizen at 9 in the morning could expect to arrive before 6 p.m. (De Vries, 86); Penn, 94, made the crossing in about four hours, Fox and Haistwell, 240 in less than five; Anon. 1669, 53 in eight hours, there being "little or no wind"; Brockman, 56, on the dike between Harlingen and Staveren: "all the way [...] a fine wall by the seaside and cockle shells on the top with great piles at some places 5 deep all along the coast"; Anon. 1691, 30: "Before the dijk to keep the force of the waters are sometimes 3, sometimes 4 and 5 posts of that bigness that there are 13 men to drive in one post"; S.S.S. = Stratum super stratum, cf. Cappelli, 364.

²⁷ Cf. Isham, R, IV, 11, gives 3 etymologies of Bolsward; "This town though old has no very ill countenance"; Moryson, Hughes, 383 (JJ, 300): "They strew the paved floors of their houses with sand to keep them cleaner; but the dirty shoes of them that enter clodding the sand, they seem to foul their houses themselves for fear others should foul them"; Veryard, 23: "Their upper rooms are often washed and sprinkled

with sand to hinder any moisture from staining the boards"; acc. to *The English Atlas*, 47, sand was used to prevent soiling the floors "with anything that would stick as oil, grease etc."

²⁸ Cf. Von Melle, 16: 600 students (1683); the *Ordo lectionum et horarum* of 1683 in Timaretes, 448-52, mentions 13 professors.

²⁹ Fitzwilliam, 22v: "She is surrounded with good old walls and ditches and several gates; two ditches run through the town; by the Westerport is a castle with a ditch about it, called Siaerdemaslor"; Isham, R, IV, 15: "I walked round [the town] in half an hour at a moderate rate upon the ramparts, which are very pleasant, being strowed with cockle shells and having no parapet to limit the sight"; Anon. 1691, 29: "There is in the Academy a pretty chapel, where they preach once a month in Latin; it is said it was given to the university by Doctor Ames"; he noted in the margin: "There is a prison for the ill-mannered students"; Farrington, 43, saw someone take his doctor's degree; Fitzwilliam, 23r, who says the university dated from 1580, mentions the Beurs: "founded by the States of this province, where 60 scholars have their diet for a little money, paying only annually 72 guilders; some poor students, natives of this country are maintained for nothing [...] Here are 3 professors in Divinity, two in Law, two in Physic, 3 or 4 in Philosophy"; in Dewhurst, 245, the fee for a promotion is erroneously printed as f12:8.

³⁰ Only Holland and Zeeland used New Style in the seventeenth century; cf. Moryson, III, 385-86 (JJ, 303): "The bishopric of Utrecht and the province of Gelderland keep the old calendar [...] If a man come from Utrecht or Gelderland to Leiden the 14th of December and return back to those parts the 24 of December, he shall keep two Christmas days in one year"; cf. Idem, 200 (JJ, 249): "The fifteenth day of December [...] after the new style was Christmas day, that feast by the old style falling on the 25 of December"; Amsterdamse morgen is 0.81 hectare; a Biltse morgen (Friesland) is 0.92 hectare (Verhoeff).

³¹ For Locke's system of noting titles of books and his references to particular pages, cf. Harrison, 33; Johannes van der Waeyen (1639-1701) was professor at Franeker since 1677 (*NNBW*); full title in Harrison, nr. 3120b; on p. 268 Van der Waeyen (whose book consists of 395 pages) refers to Jean Le Sueur's *Histoire*; Boyle, Harrison, nr. 424; on p. 99 Boyle writes: "I remember that a credible eye witness, who (if I mistake not) was the Intelligent Oviedo speaking of the pearl fishing on the American island of Cubagna, has among many other notable observations such a passage as this."

³² Cf. Brockman, 59: "At Tolhuys, about halfway we went out of the boat and thence went about half or three quarters of an hour to Wieuwerd, where there are a people retired from the world and live in a sort of community; and as their number increases, they dispose of and settle their numbers in other places as at Surinam, Maryland etc."

³³ William Penn, 96-99, visited the commune in 1677 and conversed for several hours with Pierre Yvon (1640-1707) and Anna Maria van Schuurman: "The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of The Hague; people of great breeding and inheritances. These with several other persons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie, against the dead and formal churches of the world and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship and society, separated themselves from the common Calvinistic churches and followed him in the way of a refined dependency" (96). The followers of Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) settled in Wieuwerd in 1675.

³⁴ 4,500 grys is about 5 feet; Thornhill, 35: "The very stable there was done with clean gally tiles from the rack staves to the side of the manger, which touches the horse's breast"; Farrington, 44-49, saw most of the palace and the gardens in which he was shown around by a man who spoke very good English. The new part of the palace was "pretty good after the English manner (which I perceive is the model they all follow in this country for their new buildings)". In the anti-chamber of the princess he saw "the picture of king Charles I, but drawn à la mode de Frise, with such large trousers you would scarce have known him" (44).

³⁵ Boats for Dokkum left at 5 and 9 in the morning (*Reisboek*, 246); cf. Haistwell, 240, arriving in Dokkum they "walked through the city and took boat to Stroobos, which is the outmost part of Friesland; and when friends had refreshed themselves at a commissioner's house, took boat there and passed into Groningerland".

³⁶ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 24r-v: "This city is very big and very well built, fair streets [...] extremely well fortified, having 17 of the neatest and well proportioned bastions round about it, besides an excellent fausse braye (which is counted to be the best of the 17 provinces) and brave broad and deep ditches; all the walls set with trees; seven good gates round about them. This is the most curious piece of fortification that can be seen"; Anon. 1669, 57v, states that the garrison consisted of "twenty companies of foot and four troops of horse", in times of war twice as many; Farrington, 58, gives a full description of the fortifications and mentions bullets dating from the 1672 siege, to be seen in the walls of several houses; Anon. 1695-99, 36: "The streets are very wide but ill paved and dirty and the buildings very ancient."

³⁷ Fitzwilliam, 24v: "The schools are but little and the library but very mean but the physic garden is very well worth a man's sight. Here are only 2 professors of Divinity, 1 of Law and 1 of Physic, 2 or 3 of Philosophy"; Farrington, 58, mentions six professors and only about 300 students "although a man might live a great deal cheaper and the air is much better than at Leiden"; according to Von Melle, 14, there were hardly 100 students, the university library was open on Wednesdays and Saturdays for 2 hours; G. Lammers, *Catalogus Librorum...*, Groningen, 1669; cf. Uffenbach, II, 249-52 for a description of the library and its books.

³⁸ James Tyrell (1642-1719), a friend of Locke since his days as a student at Oxford (cf. *Correspondence*, I, 495), who took charge of Locke's books on his going to Holland; Richard Old was another friend from Oxford (cf. *Correspondence*, II, 314); the money was due to Locke, who let out his rooms at Christ Church; cf. Dewhurst, 156.

³⁹ *Hollantsche Mercurius* (1684), 263-66, and several pamphlets (Knuttel nrs. 12246, 12246a/b, 12247) give accounts of the festivities; Hendrik Casimir van Nassau-Dietz (1657-1696) married in 1683 his cousin Henrietta Amalia, Princess of Anhalt-Dessau (1666-1726). Both their mothers were daughters of Prince Frederic Henry. Their aunt was a third daughter, Maria, widow of Ludwig H., Paltzgraf von Simmern; the two sisters of bride and bridegroom were princess Amalia Sophia van Nassau and Princess Albertina von Anhalt (cf. Dek; Stokvis, III, 2, p. 310-11); the bride's father was Johann Georg von Anhalt-Dessau (1627-1693), in the service of Frederic William, the Great Elector; court, Fitzwilliam, 23v: "The court is here not very great and splendid, yet big enough for this country"; Anon. 1686, 29: "The court is old and mean for a prince"; parades and state ceremonies in France, cf. Lough, 254-55; 185-87 (at Paris); 19; 29; 114-15 (at Montpellier).

⁴⁰ The Gedeputeerde Staten met here (information from the Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden).

⁴¹ Cf. Brockman, 60: "The town is very pretty and neat with little grafts in it. The churchyard paved with brick and some gravestones; no steeple but a wooden belfry beside it; few small boats about the town, which looks like business but not enough to keep grass from growing in the streets. Here we lodged at the White Crowned Eagle, a dear house."

⁴² Towards the end of the century Lemmer became an important port of transit for passengers between Friesland and Amsterdam; cf. De Vries, 85-86.

⁴³ The island was Schokland, about 25 kilometres from Lemmer and 10-15 kms. or 2½ hrs. from Kampen (v.d. Aa).

⁴⁴ Anon. 1669, 57, who travelled in the east of the country, noticed the absence of neatness in Deventer; Talman, 1697, 4: "This city has had hard fate, as may be seen by the walls, miserably battered and seeming as often as you look on them, to threaten a total downfall; all the towers and places of strength are wholly ruined and lie scattered here and there, like misshapen rocks; as for the inside there is not much stateliness, the streets are narrow and not very straight and the water in the middle of the streets stinks and in some places you see houses and churches half in rubbish."

⁴⁵ The Noorderkerk, built 1660-64, (*Teg. Staat*, XXI, 75, illustration); 13,000 grys is about 14 feet; 1,000 grys, read: 10,000 grys; cf. plan in Formsma, 682-83; for other churches of this type, cf. chap. 3, p. 130; cf. Child, 177, 11v (at The Hague): "The New Church on the Spui is an oval building, very beautiful to the eye, for it has 4 angles betwixt 4 half rounds, which makes the 4 fronts and is as convenient within for having no pillars; all in the church may both see and hear the preacher"; Cranston, 237, did not recognize "Groening" as Groningen.

⁴⁶ Cf. Fitzwilliam, 26r: "This is a pretty town, indifferently well fortified, being surrounded with 11 bulwarks, one hornpiece; a great church in which there is a brave pulpit, almost so good as that of the New Church of Amsterdam; here is likewise a very good haven and fair streets and houses everywhere"; Talman, 1697, 3: "Zwolle has also its drawbridges and fortifications, but not so strong nor so regular as Deventer, but however, the city affords a fine sight from the church tower; from whence you have a prospect of the IJssel, Zwarte Water and other pleasant places"; sabots, Locke had commented on them in France (cf. Lough, 18; 278-79); Walker, 6, between Arnhem and Cleve: "Here we found the people very poor, most of them wearing sabots on their feet, like the French peasants, and the children standing on their heads and begging in the highways."

⁴⁷ Cf. Talman, 1697, 3: "From Deventer to Zwolle is about 6 hours; all the way on a high dike, but very pleasant. On your right hand are thick woods and fine shady walks, on your left for the most are great quantities of water with which the country abounds; on this side are also plantations and sometimes the IJssel offers himself to view, which renders the journey pleasant"; Anon. 1669, 52v, paid f6 for his wagon, which he probably had to himself.

⁴⁸ Cf. Isham, 99: "The fortifications are partly ancient, partly modern; the city is small but not amiss. The stadhuis of stone makes no ill appearance; the inside of the church is quite plain; on the market place is an old building with four towers, serving now I think for the weight house"; for another local custom, cf. Anon. 1691, 26-27: "When any beef is killed here, it is led about the town with a drum before it."; Berry, 13r, saw these lanterns at Breda, with a candle for a Catholic, without a candle

for a Protestant "for distinction's sake"; these lanterns did not always have candles, cf. *Catalogus Atlas van Stolk*, II, 309 (nr. 2117).

⁴⁹ The Stappenhuis or Stappenconvent dated from 1342 (v.d. Aa); cf. Lough, 123, for a description of the profession of a nun.

⁵⁰ The ladies of the abbey of St. Mariënhorst of Ter Hunnepe (destroyed in 1578) had a house in Deventer; *Teg. Staat, Overijssel*, III, 288-91.

⁵¹ Anon. 1669, 52v, paid *f*2 for a wagon, cf. n. 47; between the two towns the country was "almost all fen and barren ground" (57); Talman, 1698, Diary, 8: "Zutphen 5 great hours from Arnhem and this city is situated on the river IJssel, which just before the city divides itself into two branches, over which are two wooden bridges; the first 103 paces long and ten foot broad, the second 150 paces, built on six boats"; Idem, 9: "The city is well fortified, encompassed with a broad ditch with bastions and mounds of earth"; Calamy, 185, is the only one to refer to Sidney: "At Zutphen we dropped a sigh over our glorious countryman Sir Philip Sidney, who lost his life in the war against the Spaniards."

⁵² Dieren, cf. chap. 3, p. 150; Georg Friedrich, Count of Waldeck (1620-1694), field marshal in the States' army in 1672; since 1682 he fought in Hungary where the Turks were beaten near Buda on 22 July 1684 (cf. Knuttel nr. 11941); cf. Brereton, 35: "two dromedaries [...] ugly creatures, bulges behind and before, and betwixt them a convenient seat for a man"; Farrington, 62, described a dromedary at a fair in Groningen: "A large ugly creature with a long prodigious strong neck, two bunches on his back between which a man may sit conveniently; is very tame but has a mighty strange tone or cry and is of so great a strength as to carry above a thousand weight."

⁵³ Cf. Walker, 6: "We came to Arnhem, a very ancient town; the metropolis of the Duchy and lying upon the river Rhine. It is environed with an old fortification. Here we beheld a fair church with a tomb of the former Dukes of Gelderland"; Blainville, 50: "Here we do not find the neatness of the towns in Holland, neither in the houses or streets."

⁵⁴ Cf. Talman, 1698, 19: "We were three hours in our journey" (by boat); on the way two rivers had to be crossed; cf. Anon. 1686, 5, (Arnhem) "There is a bridge over the Rhine of 20 boats and to let pass any boat they let down two of their boats for some way and then screw them up again"; ferry at Nijmegen, cf. Isham, 34-35, (from Nijmegen to Arnhem) "We passed the Waal in an odd ferry, there being two boats put together with boards over them, railed in and seats to sit down, except a place on each side for coaches, horses etc. to go in and out. As we went to the trekschuit, which was at some distance from the river, we went by a village called Lentz [Lent]; then we were drawn upon the canal Grift, which ends three times, so that we were often obliged to change boats"; Farrington, 246, on this canal: "The most narrow, weedy and foul canal I have seen in the provinces"; Brockman, 87: "the banks so high that one rarely overlooks them."

⁵⁵ Cf. Anon. 1686, 9: "The castle is deliciously situated upon a steep bank; a pretty rivulet at the bottom"; Southwell, 63: "The main wall of the town is old fashioned, with turrets and a very deep ditch, but the outworks are new, very large and kept in good repair, well palisaded, but it requires 7 or 8,000 men at least to defend it. In the Stadhouse we saw the room the plenipotentiaries sat in to make the peace in 1678. There hangs up Sir William Temple's and Sir Leoline Jenkins' pictures, together with the rest"; Farrington, 233-45, gives much information on Nijmegen; Johannes Smetius jr. (1636-1704) had enlarged his father's collection (catalogue 1678); a visitor's book,

kept from 1633-1703 contains more than 100 English names including those of Temple (1676), Jenkins (1679), Monmouth (1684), Burnet (1686), Perth – “comes Scotus” – (1694) and Prior (1696) (Municipal Archives, Nijmegen, MS 39); Nicolson, 15v-17v, reports on the collection in some detail.

⁵⁶ Cf. Brockman, 85: “From the steeple of the great church I had a prospect of the Betuwe”; Tiel and Ingen lie just outside the Upper Betuwe; Perth, 48: “As you will see in the map, the Rhine divides itself at Schenkenschans”; cf. Coryat, 356: “I heard that it is esteemed the strongest sconce of all Europe”; Walker, 6: “After some small stay there, we obtained leave by an English soldier, to take a view of the works, which were so exactly made that we conceived the place almost impregnable”; Southwell, 59: “This was once esteemed the key of Holland on that side, but the French found no resistance when they took it; since which time it has run to ruin. The counterscarpe, ditch, covert way and ramparts are all mouldered down, being only sod work”; Albert Teyler (b.1661), receiver of the Over-Betuwe since 1682, grandson of the landlord of the Hart Inn, (cf. Lemmens, 18-20; *Numaga*, 30 (1983), 51-52.

⁵⁷ Bargrave, 190v, spent almost two days on the river between these towns; Coryat sailed this distance of “24 miles” (c. 75 km.) in 10 hours; he wrote about Bommel: “I saw a great bullet stick in the tower of their church, even about the top, which was shot by the enemy in the year 1574; which figures (1574) are subscribed in such great characters under the bullet, that a man may very plainly discern them afar off”; Northleigh, 710: “Bommel [...] seated upon an isle [...], which Caesar in his description of the Maas called the Insula Batavorum”; Fitzwilliam, 14r, on his way from Den Bosch to Utrecht passed through the town and described its fortifications.

⁵⁸ Cf. Northleigh, 710: “A walled (but not fortified) town upon that branch of the Rhine, which from thence forward is called the Lek, which we passed in a ferryboat at the Lek ferry.”

⁵⁹ The ventriloquist is mentioned by Droste, 7202-08; neither Lough nor Dewhurst mention Locke having met one in Paris.

⁶⁰ Money given for board and provisions (*OED*).

⁶¹ For the payment, cf. n. 38; Sylvester Brownover was Locke's servant, whom he had met at Lyon(s) in Nov. 1678, cf. *Correspondence*, I, xcvi; Mr. P[awling], cf. *Correspondence*, II, 767 and Ashcraft, 373; Capellus and Crell(ius), authors of books in Locke's possession, cf. Harrison nrs. 581-85; 875-884.

⁶² Cf. Penson, 30v: “The sign of the Jerusalem Cross, a good house where I found divers English Gentlemen had lodged, by their names written in the glass windows.”

⁶³ Loth Gael (1629-1713), goldsmith at Leiden, married Gosuwijna de Pauw (born at Utrecht) on 29 June, 1679 (Municipal Archives, Leiden, Schepentrouw); Anthonie de Pauw: probably “ingezetene” of Amsterdam, 15 Sept. 1683 (Municipal Archives, Amsterdam, Ingezetenen, I, 19); Mr. Dare, cf. n. 19.

⁶⁴ Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716), son of Johan Frederik Gronovius; Calamy, 175, refers to his learning and Clerk, 16, wrote: he “explained all the Roman antiquities of Suetonius in Dutch, but as I had frequented much the company of Dutch people, I found no difficulty in understanding him, and reading this author with pleasure, as I have frequently done since. The notes and criticisms he gave us I took in writing, which are still in the library of Pennicuik”; the lecture was *Dissertatio de origine Romuli* (Leiden, 1684).

⁶⁵ J.J. Scaliger (1540-1609); Blainville, 22, gave the inscription in full (from Hegenitius, 56-57) and described the memorial: "Upon the top of this monument an eagle with expanded wings holds a laurel crown in its bill and a book in one of its talons"; Browne, 94, mentions the tomb and the long inscription, to which were added "these few words, which he himself desired might be placed there: Josephus Justus Scaliger, Jul. Caes. Fil. Hic expecto Resurrectionem".

⁶⁶ Cf. Browne, n. 59.

⁶⁷ The goudgulden was a silver coin; more gold coins are mentioned on March 3, *Journal 1684*: "1 Rosenoble *f*11:0; 1 Goude Souver. of Ducaton *f*15:0; 1 Halve Goude Ducaton *f*7:10; 1 Jacobus en Rijder *f*13:0; 1 Alber. of ½ Jac. of Rijder *f*6:10; 1 Carolus of Omkijcker *f*12:0; 1 Ducaet *f*5:0; 1 Dubbelde Pistolet i.e. 1 Luis d'or *f*9:0; 1 Enkel Pistolet or Fr. Kroon i.e. ½ Luis d'or *f*4:10"; similar lists in *Moryson*, Table and I, 289-90, Bowrey, 44, and Mundy, 79: "I know nowhere the like multiplicity of divisions"; cf. also *A New Description*, 12; Thornhill, 32-33 and Isham, 12: "a bad skilling" i.e. 5½ st., cf. Van Gelder, 240; Bowrey, 23, mentions the pistole = 3 ducats; lists of French coins, cf. Lough, 217-18.

⁶⁸ Cleanliness stables, cf. Browne, n. 165; Blainville, 43 (prob. from Misson), they "carry their cleanliness to such a pitch, as to wash and clean several times in a day the stalls for their cows, and to tie the tails of those animals by a rope to a post, that they may not dirty them by their urine or dung; and an hundred other such extravagancies which are almost incredible"; cf. chap. 3, p. 147.

APPENDIX III

ORRERY ACCOUNTS 1686-9

On 6 April 1685, fifteen-year-old Lionel Boyle, 3rd Earl of Orrery (1670-1703) left London accompanied by his French governor Germain Colladon, his servant John Carty and his footman James Williams. For slightly more than four years he was to "travel beyond the seas for his better education and improvement". Every three months the governor sent detailed accounts to London, which give us a good idea of the movements of the well-supervised young nobleman.¹

Less than three weeks after Germain Colladon had started keeping his accounts, the travellers arrived in Paris. Their real destination however, was Blois, a town where many Protestant British aristocrats learned to speak French. After five months here, the travellers moved back to Paris, where they stayed until May 1st 1686, when Lionel and his servants set out for the Low Countries. From May 18 till January 22 1687, Lionel continued his studies at Utrecht, where he lodged with the librarian of the university. During this period three short journeys were made: to Amsterdam and The Hague in July; to the army at Nijmegen in August and again to The Hague in October. The accounts show that, apart from the lessons his governor must have given him, he studied mathematics and geography. A regular correspondence was kept up with London and the young lord must have felt quite at home in the local British community.²

In January 1687, Lionel bought a pair of pistols for himself and his servant, and prepared for travel in more adventurous countries. By the end of the month they had settled at Brussels, where the tourists stayed about eight months. During a two-weeks' journey in May, they visited Namur, Liège, Maastricht and Aix la Chapelle. In September Lionel's stay in the Low Countries was drawing to an end and preparations were made for the journey to Italy. On 15 November, after brief stops in Heidelberg and Geneva, the travellers arrived at Turin where they stayed until 12 February 1688. After a three-months' journey to Rome and Naples, they crossed the Alps again and settled

at Geneva for a period of 10 months. They set out on the return journey to England on 1 May 1689, following the route along the Rhine, and arrived at Arnhem on May 27. This time, three years after Lionel's first arrival in the United Provinces, he only spent about a week in Holland. After a few days' waiting at Hellevoetsluis, a yacht took him and his companions to Harwich and on May 14 they were back in London. When Germain Colladon balanced the accounts on June 20, the journey turned out to have cost 7943 crowns and 2 pence, close on £2,000.

The accounts have been kept throughout in French crowns (= écu = 3 livres), livres (20 sous) and pence (sous); the value of a pound sterling was at that time approximately 13 livres or 11 guilders. In spite of the French denominations, it would seem that expenses made in Holland were recorded in rijksdaalders (2½ guilders), guilders (20 stuivers) and stuivers³, coins roughly equivalent to the French crown, livre and sou. However, it remains curious that in his calculations Colladon counted three guilders for one rijksdaalder. Subtotals are given at the bottom of each page. At the end of each quarter Colladon established the total, usually adding a note as printed after 16 November 1686. In our transcript the end of a page is indicated by ★★★★★. Amounts followed by an ★ are based on deduction and illegible in the MS.

[Kent Archives Office, Maidstone, MS U269 A10/3,4]

MAY 1686

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 13. [Brussels] to have our things carried from our lodgings to the barge of Antwerpen | 00:01:15 |
| paid for the passage of 4 people | 01:01:10 |
| for our goods | 00:00:15 |
| for the washing at Brussels | 00:02:04 |
| for our dinner in the barge | 00:01:15 |
| from Brussels to Antwerp and supper | 01:02:05 |
| paid at the custom house | 00:00:15 |
| 14. for the breakfast and the dinner from Antwerp to Breda | 01:00:15 |
| for our share of a wagon from Antwerp to Breda | 06:00:00 |
| for the supper and breakfast there and | 02:00:00 |
| to see the Castle there | 00:00:18 |

15.	for a wagon from Breda to Gorkum	06:02:05
	to cross the water [branch of the Maas] at La Capelle	00:00:04
	to drink upon the road	00:00:04
	to cross the river at Gorkum	00:00:08
	to have our things carried to the inn	00:00:08
	for the supper at Gorkum	01:01:10
16.	for the passage of a bridge	00:00:09
	for to cross the river at Vianen	00:00:18
	for our share of a wagon from Gorkum to Utrecht	04:00:00
	to have our things carried to the inn	00:00:15
	from thence to [= at] Utrecht I paid for our expenses at the inn from Thursday to Saturday morning	05:01:04
18.	to have our things from the inn to our pension	00:00:10

	to my Lord upon his allowance	20:02:00
	to him for his fairing [kermis money] by order to Mr. Carty for three months boardwages from the 8th of February to the 8th of May	03:02:00
	paid to the same for 3 months' wages from the first of February to the first of May	30:00:00
	paid to the footman for 3 months' wages from the 24th of January to the 24th of April	16:01:10
	taken for me for 3 months' wages from 11th of February to the 11th of May	05:00:00
		<u>66:00:00</u>
		141:02:10

A continuation of accounts of the money laid out by me G. Colladon
for the use of the Earl of Orrery from the 18th of May to the 16th of
August 1686

18.	for a pewter standish [inkstand]	00:02:00
	for pens and ink	00:00:06
	for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:15
	for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
	for letters from London that came by Paris to Utrecht	00:00:15

21. for a quire of paper	00:00:07
for a hat for my Lord's footman	01:00:18
25. paid for one week's pension for my Lord	
for me and for the footman	09:01:00
for garters for my Lord	00:00:06
27. for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
30. for 2 geographical maps	00:00:12
for a letter from London to Utrecht	00:00:12

JUNE

1. for one week's pension as above	09:01:00
for a pair of stockings for the footman	01:01:00
5. for a letter from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
6. for a letter from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
8. for one week's pension as above	09:01:00
15. for one week's pension as above	09:01:00
16. for letters from England to Utrecht	00:00:12
18. for a mall and bowls for my Lord	02:00:10
19. for half a pound of powder for hair	00:00:15
20. for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
22. for a week's pension as above	09:01:00
26. for a box to put in periwig	00:00:12
for 4 pounds of candles	00:01:00
29. for one week's pension as above	09:01:00

JULY

6. for letters from England	00:00:12
for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
11. gone from Utrecht to Amsterdam and paid	
for 4 places in the boat	00:02:08
for the dinner in the way for the portmantle in	
the boat and to have it carried to the inn	01:00:00
given to see the Stadhouse at Amsterdam,	
the Spinhouse, the Rasphouse, the Dolhouse,	
the Admiralty, the India magazine and	
the great church	01:01:12
for our expenses at Amsterdam during 3 days	<u>11:00:10</u>
	88:00:07

for the boat from Amsterdam to Haarlem	00:01:07
to have our portmantle carried thither	00:00:12
our expenses at Haarlem	02:01:00
for the boat from Haarlem to Leiden and for the portmantle	01:00:03
to see the Prince's House at Haarlem and to have our portmantle carried to the boat	00:00:16
to have our portmantle carried to the inn at Leiden	00:00:03
to see the Anatomy house	00:00:12
to see the physick garden	00:00:08
to see the Mount	00:00:04
for our expenses at Leiden	04:02:00
to see the library and the pesthouse	00:00:12
for the boat from Leiden to The Hague	00:01:08
to have the portmantle carried to the boat	00:00:06
for the portmantle in the boat	00:00:04
for a coach to go to Honselaarsdijk	00:02:06
given to the maid that showed us the garden and the birds' cages	00:01:04
for a coach to go to Sir Edward Walers [= Villiers] at The Hague	00:01:10
for our expenses at The Hague	06:00:00
to see Mr. Bentinck's gardens	00:01:05
for the boat from The Hague to Delft	00:00:12
to have the portmantle carried to the boat	00:00:06
for the portmantle in the boat	00:00:04
for the boat from Delft to Rotterdam	00:01:00
for the portmantle	00:00:04
for the wagon from Rotterdam to Dordt	01:00:10
for the dinner at Dordt	00:02:00
paid to a washwoman	00:02:00
for our expenses at Rotterdam	06:02:00
for the wagon from Rotterdam to Utrecht	03:00:10
for our expenses from Rotterdam to Utrecht	01:00:05
23. to have our portmantle brought to our lodging	00:00:06
25. for 2 quires of paper	00:00:14
for one week's pension as above	09:01:00
for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
27. for 3 pounds of candles	00:00:15

AUGUST

3. for a week's pension as above	09:01:00
6. for a week's pension as above	09:01:00
13. for a week's pension as above	09:01:00
for 6 pair of shoes for my Lord	<u>05:00:14</u>
	75:02:06

for a pair of shoes for my Lord's footman	01:00:00★
for books	02:01:10★
16. for letters from England	00:00:12
for 4 places in the wagon from Utrecht	
to Nijmegen	05:01:06
for passage money	00:01:04
to cross the river at Rhenen	00:00:04
for the dinner there	01:00:01
to cross the river at Nijmegen	00:00:12
for the supper there	00:02:00
for a wagon to go to the Camp	00:01:05
for our lodgings at Nijmegen and	
some other expenses	02:00:14
for 4 places from Nijmegen to Utrecht	04:02:00
for passage money	00:00:18
to pass over the flying bridge	00:00:03
for the dinner upon the road	00:02:00
for extraordinaries during 3 months	04:00:10
paid to my Lord upon his allowance	23:00:18
paid to Mr. Carty for 3 months' boardwages	30:00:00
from the 8th of May to the 8th of August paid	
to the same for 3 months' wages from the 1st of	
May to the first of August	16:01:05
paid to my Lord's footman for 3 months' wages	
from the 24th of April to the 24th of July	05:00:00
taken for me for 3 months' wages from the 11	
of May to the 11th of August	66:00:00
for a paper book for my Lord	00:00:11
to the surgeon who let my Lord's footman	
blood and cured him of a sore throat	00:01:10
paid for our lodgings during our 2 journeys	01:00:10

for two suppers at our coming back	00:01:06
for 4 pounds of candles	<u>00:01:00</u>
	167:00:19
total	<hr/> 331:00:12

A continuation of Accounts of the money laid out by me, G. Colladon for the use of the Earl of Orrery from the 18th of August to the 18th of November 1686.

AUGUST	Cr. l i. pe
20. for pens and ink	00:00:05
for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
21. for a bottle of Queen of Hungary's water	00:01:16
24. for a week's pension as before	09:01:00
31. for a week's pension as before	09:01:00
for a Caudebeck hat edged with golden galoon	
for my Lord	03:01:02
SEPTEMBER	
1. for letters from England	00:00:12
2. for the hire of two horses	01:00:00
5. for a letter from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
7. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
14. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
for washing	01:00:13
17. for a periwig for my Lord	05:00:02
20. for a letter from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
21. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
23. for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
24. for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
26. for 9 pounds of candles	00:02:05
for shoe brushes	00:00:07
paid to the master of arithmetic and geography	
for one month from August the 26th to Sept.	
the 26th	02:01:06
28. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00

OCTOBER

1.	for buttons to my Lord's waistcoat	00:00:04
3.	for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
5.	for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
8.	for a lace cravat for my Lord with the cuffs	12:00:00
10.	for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
	for Spanish wax	00:00:06
12.	for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
17.	for a quire of paper	00:00:07
	for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
19.	for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
	for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
	for the washing	01:00:13
	for a pound of powder	00:01:04
26.	for one week's pension as before	<u>09:01:00</u>
		123:00:08

	for 8 pounds of candles	00:02:00*
	for 3 places in a boat from Utrecht to Leiden	01:00:13*
	for 3 places in the boat from Leiden to The Hague	00:01:01*
	for the expense upon the road	00:02:05
	for the expense at The Hague during 8 days	16:00:00
	for 3 places in the boat from Leiden to The Hague	00:01:01
	for the boat from Leiden to Utrecht	01:00:13
	for the expense in the way	01:00:00
	for two pair of gloves for my Lord	00:01:02
	for a ribbon for my Lord's muff	00:01:10
	for a ratine suit for my Lord, lined with the same	
	with gold buttons with the vest of brocade	
	ponceau [bright red] and white	36:01:17
	for the making the suit and the vest	04:00:13
	for a morning gown	12:00:00
	for 2 pair of stockings	04:00:00
	for a livery suit for my Lord's footman	
	with silk galoon	20:00:00
	for the making of the suit	02:02:00
	for a pair of stockings for the footman	01:01:10
	for a hat for the same	01:01:10

paid to the master of arithmetic and geography for one month from the 26th Sept. to the 26th October	02:01:06
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NOVEMBER

7. for 2 letters from London to Utrecht	00:01:04
8. given to the man that cleaned my Lord's teeth	01:00:13
9. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
paid for extraordinaries during the quarter in which are comprehended the payment for our chambers at Utrecht during our stay at The Hague and a supper at our return	05:01:10
13. for 50 sacks of turfs at 9d. a sack for the men that brought them in etc.	09:01:10
paid to the bookseller for books	06:00:12
for wood	03:01:00
24. for a cravat's knot of ribbon ponceau for my Lord	00:02:03
16. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
paid to my Lord upon his allowance	<u>22:02:00</u>
	174:02:13

paid to Mr. Carty for 3 months' boardwages	30:00:00
paid to the same for 3 months' wages from the 1st of August to the first of November	16:01:05
paid to the footman for 3 months' wages from the 24th of July to the 24th of October	05:00:00
taken for me for 3 months' wages from the 11th of August to the 11th of November	66:00:00
for what was due to me upon the last accounts	124:00:00
paid to the shoemaker	<u>05:01:06</u>
	246:02:11

total	544:02:12
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Upon this I have received 400 crowns and it remained due to me upon the last accounts 124 crowns and upon the present account it remains due to me 149 crowns 1 liver and 10d.

Utrecht, November the 18th, 1686, by me Germain Colladon.

A continuation of accounts of the money laid out by me, G. Colladon for the use of my Lord Orrery from the 18th of November 1686 to the 18th of February 1687.

NOVEMBER

18. for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
21. for mending my Lord's periwig	01:00:00
23. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
for washing	01:00:13
for 2 ells of frize at 18d. an ell and for 2 penny	
silk to line my Lord's old vest	00:01:18
for the making of it	00:00:18
26. to the master of geography for one month	02:01:06
30. for one week's pension as above	09:01:00

DECEMBER

2. for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
for 13 pounds of candles	01:00:15
for a frock for the footman	00:01:18
6. for a letter from the Banker at Rotterdam	00:00:03
7. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
14. paid to the shipman that brought the money from Rotterdam	01:00:00
kept back for the bag	00:00:06
for one week's pension as above	09:01:00
16. for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
21. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
for washing	01:00:13
22. for letters from London to Utrecht	00:00:12
23. for a letter from Utrecht to London	00:00:03
26. to the master of geography for one month	02:01:06
28. for one week's pension as before	09:01:00
30. for letters from London to Utrecht	00:01:04
for letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
31. paid pour l'échange de notre argent de Hollande into Spanish ducatoons	01:02:10
for 28 ells and a ½ of fine cloth at 38d. an ell	
for 6 shirts for my Lord	21:01:13
for 26 ells and a ½ of coarse cloth at 18d. an ell for 6 undershirts for my Lord	09:01:17

JANUARY 1687

for 2 letters from London to Utrecht	00:01:04
paid to the surgeon who took care of my Lord's teeth and for 16 prizes of pills of which I have made provision because they agree very well with my Lord	<u>06:00:00</u> 108:02:06

paid to bookseller for books	03:01:14
for 2 letters from Utrecht to London	00:00:06
given for his New Year to the man that brought our letters from the post	00:01:10
paid for the Gazette from August till January	01:02:00
for ink and paper	00:00:09
for 14 pounds of candles	01:01:00
to mend the trunk	00:00:08
for the making of my Lord's shirts	02:02:12
paid to the shoemaker upon his bill	05:00:00
18. for 3 weeks and a day's pension	32:00:11
19. for washing	01:00:13
for a pair of pistols for my Lord	12:00:00
for a pair of pistols for my Lord's man	06:00:00
for extraordinaries	08:01:10
to the master of geography for one month	02:01:06
21. for a thick pair of stockings for my Lord to put over his shoes upon the journey	00:01:16
for cords to cord the trunk and the malle	00:01:00
given to the man that corded them up	00:00:05
given to the servants	04:00:00
for a bag to put in warm sand	00:00:10
22. gone from Utrecht and paid for a wagon to Boleduc [Den Bosch]	08:00:00
for the passage money	00:01:05
to cross the river at Vianen	00:01:04
paid for a breakfast given to my Lord's friends who came as far as Vianen	02:00:00
for passage money in several places	00:02:06
to cross the river at Gorkum	03:01:19
passage money at Workum	00:01:08
for our supper at Veen [north of Heusden]	01:01:14

23.	passage money	00:00:04
	given to the men who did drive us upon the ice	
	from Flamingen [Vlijmen] to Boleduc	00:01:10
	for one dinner and for one night's lodging	
	at Boleduc	03:01:18
24.	for a waggon from Bolduc to Breda	05:00:00
	for passage money	00:01:00
	for the dinner	01:01:00
	for one supper and night's lodging at Breda	03:01:10
25.	for a waggon from Breda to Antwerp	<u>06:00:00</u>
		120:01:08

[...] MAY 1687

25.	for the boat from Liège to Maastricht	00:00:18
	to carry our portmantle to the boat	00:00:06
	for our portmantle by the boat	00:00:06
	to get up upon the great church at Liège	00:00:08
26.	for the supper and dinner at Maastricht	03:00:12
	for the waggon from Maastricht to Aix	02:00:08

[...] JUNE

3.	for the waggon from Aix to Maastricht	01:01:04
	for the dinner at Gulpen	00:02:02
	for the supper at Maastricht	01:01:04
4.	for 3 horses with the charge from Maastricht	
	to Brussels	07:00:00

[...] MAY 1689

18.	for the coach from Francfort to Arnhem	31:01:00
[...]		
27.	at Arnhem for 2 meals and a breakfast	03:00:08
	for a wagon to Utrecht	04:01:12
	for passagegeld from Arnhem to Utrecht	00:01:12
	to have our goods carried to the inn	00:01:00
	given to the waggoner to drink	00:00:08
28.	for the supper at Rhenen	01:00:08
	arrived at Utrecht and paid for 4 meals	
	and for beds	06:02:05
	for gloves for my Lord	00:01:02

to have our [German?] money changed into Dutch money	00:02:10
for 3 places in the boat from Utrecht to Amsterdam and for our goods	01:00:15

to have our goods carried to the boat	—
30. arrived to Amsterdam and paid to have our goods carried to the inn	—
paid for our expense during 4½ days and a breakfast	15:00:00
for the chambers	02:01:10
given to the servants and the maids	01:01:10
for washing	00:01:18
for shoes for my Lord	01:00:00
for two lace cravats and one of point d'Espagne with the cuffs to add	48:00:00
for the making of the cravats and cuffs	01:00:06

JUNE

4. for the boats of Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague	01:00:02
for the dinner at Leiden	01:00:00
5. at The Hague for 2 meals	02:02:10
for the boats to Delft and Rotterdam	02:00:00
6. for the boat to the Brill [Den Briel]	00:01:00
for the goods in the boat	00:00:16
to have them carried from the inn to the boat	00:00:12
spent at The Brille	03:02:05
for a waggon to Hellevoetsluis	00:02:10
sent Mr. Carty directly from Amsterdam to Rotterdam with the goods; who has spent for his dinner at Amsterdam	00:01:03
to have the goods carried to the boat	00:00:08
to have a place kept in the boat	00:00:05
for his supper	00:01:03
for his place in the boat	00:01:05
for the goods	00:01:10
to have the goods carried to the inn at Rotterdam	00:00:07
spent at Hellevoetsluis during 4 days	09:01:10
for provisions upon the yacht	02:02:15

14. for 3 places in the coach from Harwich to London	15:02:00
for the breakfast at Harwich	00:02:00
to the man who tied our goods behind the coach	00:00:13
for the dinner at Colchester	01:02:04
for the supper at Witham	01:02:14
15. for the dinner at Burntwood [Brentwood]	01:01:11
for the boat and goods at Harwich	<u>00:02:15</u>
	117:02:16

for the coachman of Francfort to Arnhem to drink	02:00:00
arrived to London and spent at the Saracen's Head	01:01:11
for two coaches from Aldgate to Burlington House	01:00:12
for a coach to Sion	02:01:05
to have our goods brought from Burlington House	
to Suffolk street and for the coach hire	00:02:05
for shoes for my Lord	01:00:05
given to my Lord and his man	03:02:05
paid for the chamber and for my Lord's supper	
at London	11:00:00
paid to Mr. Carty for 3 months' wages from the	
first of May to the first of August	16:01:10
paid to my Lord upon his allowance	29:01:00
taken for me for 4 months and a half wages	
from the 11th of February to the first of July	90:02:05
to mend my Lord's boot	<u>00:01:02</u>
	160:02:00
total	<hr/> 885:02:11

NOTES

¹ CSPD, Jan. 1686-May 1687, 448 (January 18, 1686 [sic]): "Lionel Earl of Orrery with [Germain] Colladon his governor, John Carty and James Williams his servants, with wearing apparel etc. and £20 in money. To travel beyond the seas for his better education and improvement."

² Lodgings, cf. chap. II, p. 97; British students at Utrecht, cf. General Introduction, pp. 6-7.

³ Cf. several entries relating to fares (e.g. Oct. 26, 3 places Leyden to Utrecht = 3 x 21 st. = 63 st., noted as 01:00:13), the price of candles (26 June, 4 pounds at 5 st. a pound = one guilder; 16 Jan., 14 pounds = 70 st., noted as 01:01:00) and the fees given to the washwoman and private teachers, who were probably paid in ducats (63 st., noted as 01:00:13).

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF INNS

A list of inns and lodging houses in various towns in the United Provinces, compiled from the accounts of British travellers and from Van Vliet (1643), *Den wech naer het Spaa* (1655), Payen (1663), Monconys (1663), Cosimo de Medici (1667 and 1669), Lemaître (1681), Von Melle (1683) and Misson (1687). Towns are dealt with in alphabetical order and the entries are given chronologically. Sometimes supplementary information is provided on the inns, particularly the remarks by Moryson (1592-95) and Payen (1663) on the cost of meals.

Seventeenth-century travel guides do not often give information on lodgings. Exceptions are Payen (1663) and *Reisboek* 1689 (109-122) and its later editions. Eighteenth-century guidebooks usually provide names and addresses of several inns in each town, e.g. Misson (*Mémoire pour les voyageurs*, 1722 ed., III, 148ff.), Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour* (1743), *The Present State of Holland* (1745) and *A New Traveller's Companion through the Netherlands* (1754).

ALKMAAR

Monconys (1663), 173, au Cornet d'Or; Fitzwilliam (1663), 21r, "We lodged at the sign of the Weigh of Amsterdam by one Cornelius van Rossen, where we were well treated and at a very good rate. This our landlord had by his wife in seven quarters of a year six children, whose picture is yet to be seen in his house"; Anon. 1691, 31, The House van Gemak; Isham (1704-07), 39, The Horse's Head; Baillie (1731), 388, The Dool (= De Doelen).

AMERSFOORT

Payen (1663), "Logez à La Tour et payez par repas 20 sols"; Monconys (1663), 181, The Doelen; Farrington (1710), 260, "The Doelen, or the tavern which the magistrates use, where we were well used".

AMSTERDAM

Moryson (1592-95), I, 44 (JJ, 224), "I lodged with an Englishman and paid for dinner and supper 20 stivers; and for a guest invited to supper

10 stivers and for three pints or chopines of Spanish wine 21 stivers"; Idem, I, 200 (JJ, 249), "We lodged in an English merchant's house [...] and paid 8 st. for each meal"; Howell (1619-23), 29, "I am lodged in a Frenchman's house, who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists church here"; Dawes (1623), 11v, "at the English house (being the sign of The King's Head by the Exchange"; Brereton (1634), 54, "Stephen Offwood, our host"; Evelyn (1641), 44, "I was at a Brownist's house where we had an extraordinarily good table"; Denne (1646), 22, "the sign of The Tower of London, near to the Sea Dyke"; Hope (1646), 161, "lodged in one Mr. Moores at the sign of The Liesveltse Byble in Warmerstreet, being an ordinary"; Fraser (1659), 93r, "George Moody's house at The Scottish Arms or Wapen van Schotland as the Dutch call it; this gentleman received and entertained us most discreetly, his father was a minister in Orkney and he set up here some years ago and married a Dutchwoman"; Moody (1661-62), 34, "Lodged in the greatest ordinary in Holland, called The Heren Logement, or the ordinary for Lords and great persons, none dining there for less than a crown a meal"; Payen (1663), "Logez à L'Electeur de Cologne sur la Bermestad, payez par repas 15 sols"; Monconys (1663), 160, *La Veille Montagne Renommée* (chez un nommé *La Montagne*); Idem, 177, prob. *Heerenlogement*, "pour loger les grands seigneurs"; De Medici (1667-69), 204, *The Cross of England*; Browne (1668), journal, 100v, *M. Wood in De Witte Hartt bij de Oude Kerk, dichtbij de Warmerstraet*; Vernon (1672), 258, an English house; Barlow (1674), 247, "A Scotchman's house who kept up the sign of our King's Arms, but we quickly found that house to entertain more whores and rogues than honest people [...]; going over the Camperhof bridge, we came to the sign of The Butter Tun"; Ridley (1679), 5, "Host Th. Witting at the sign of The City of Colchester"; Von Melle (1683), 17, *Au Grand Roi de France* (*Zeedijk*) Mr. Xaintonge French cook; Erskine (1685-86), 190, 211, in James Thomson's; Gordon (1686), 125, *The Swan*; Brockman (1686), 60v, "Wood's, at The White Hart by the Old Kirk"; Penson (1687), 17r, "I took up my lodging at the house of Mr. Carmitchell at the sign of The 2 Lions in the Bantammer Street, where I had good entertainment"; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 320, "Lodge at the sign of The City of Lions, where they speak French"; Calamy (1688-91), 179, the English ordinary; Dunton (1688), 209, at Mr. Carmichael's, a Scotchman in Bantammer Street; Idem, 210, "Soon after I had new lodgings recommended to me at Mr. James, a dyer up the Looiers-

gracht next The Hope (1646)"; Anon. 1695-99, 10, "Lodged at one Elton's, an English house on the Tear tine" [Teertuin]; Idem, 35, Mr. Elton's, an English house at The Butter Tun; Chiswell (1696), 11r, "We lodged here at an English House near the Old Church, but our entertainment was very indifferent"; Bowrey (1698), 32-33, "Went to The White Hart, an English ordinary behind the Old Church. The price of eating at this house is 15 st. each person, for which you have a good dinner of several dishes with table beer. Good claret if called for at 9 st. for about 1¼ pint"; Idem, 77, White Hart, 6 st. a bed; The Hoogh Dutch Bible in Warmoesstraat, Mons. Haersma; "paid at The Dutch Bible: the rate at the ordinary table is 25 st.; for a bed 12 st.; they find ½ a pint wine to dinner; here is very good eating and clean lodging"; Addison (1703), 40; 45, Mr. Moor's the English House near the Fishmarket; Isham (1704-07), 19, the sign of The Golden Lion in the Calvar Street; Idem, 100, "at one Moor, an Englishman's at The Bible and Orange in the Warmer Street"; Taylor (1707), 99, "I lodged at Mr. Moor's, an English house in the Leyden Street"; Drake (1710), 11, "The best inns are La Roche's at La Ville de Lyons and Moor's, an English House at The Bible"; Farrington (1710), 30, "The sign of The Bible called The Middle Bible in the Warmerstraat, Mr. Moor an Englishman [...] good ordinary for a guilder and to those that stay there anytime and are constant 12d. There all the English unmarried merchants eat, a good house and good usage"; Whitworth (1710), 198r, La Ville de Lyons, "drank a bottle of wine [...] at the English House [...] in the morning to the English coffeehouse"; Thornhill (1711), 109, "David Moore in Amsterdam, a good house of entertainment, an Englishman"; Prideaux (1711), 73v, Mr. Moor's, at The Golden Bible in the Warmas Straat; Leake (1711-12), 14r, at Mr. Moor's, an English house at the sign of The Bible and Orange near the Stadhouse; Baillie (1731), 386, "Lodge at The Bible and Orange in the Warmoesstraat or Ville de Lions".

ARNHEM

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Gulden Arent; Monconys (1663), 183, L'Aigle d'Or, the host was "un bon protestant"; De Medici (1667-69), 27-29, The Golden Eagle; Anon. 1669, 52r, The Golden Eagle; Brockman (1686), 90r, The Great Tun; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 321, The Golden Plough; Anon. 1691, 4, The Golden Bear; Farrington (1710), 246, "The sign of The Peacock, Pauw, the best house in the city".

BERGEN OP ZOOM

Denne (1646), 20, "We lay at one Holland's, an Englishman"; Monconys (1663), 108, *Aux Trois Fers de Cheval*.

BOLSWARD

Moryson (1592-95), I, 201 (JJ, 250), "Each man paid [...] 8 st. and a half for his dinner"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, *De Doelen op de mert*.

BRED A

Payen (1663), "Logez au Prince Cardinal et payez par repas 18 sols"; Monconys (1663), 125, *Cardinal*; Fitzwilliam (1663), 12r, at *The Cardinal Infanta*; Browne (1668), *journal*, 17r, *The English inn*.

BRIELLE

Moryson (1592-95), 47 (JJ, 230), "Here I paid for my supper and dinner 20 st. and for a pot of wine 18 st."; Anon. 1691b, 10, "The two Lasts"; Isham (1704-07), R, I, 7, "The Doelen [...] a public house in a room of which hangs some picture of the chief officers of the Burghers under arms"; Drake (1710) (*list*), Shaw's; Thornhill (1711), 33, "Mr. Shaw's at The Golden Lion by the waterside over against the drawbridge; a good house, civil usage, good Pontak we paid 30 st.".

COEVORDEN

Anon. 1691, 28, *The Peacock*.

DELFT

Moryson (1592-95), I, 47 (JJ, 229), "Here I paid for one meal for myself and a guest invited by me and two pots of Rhenish wine, three guldens and 5 stivers"; Dawes (1623), 9v, *The Delf English House*; 10r, *The Serpent, French House*; Brereton (1634), 19, "We were accommodated with a very fair spacious chamber in the English House, which is allowed for the English merchants, rent free and excise free"; Fraser (1659), 100r, "a good hospital for strangers"; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Navire et payez par repas 18 sols"; De Medici (1667-69), 117, *Stadsherberg*; Brockman (1686), 64v, *The Scotch Arms*; Farrington (1710), 9, "The Golden Mill, one flask of red wine half a crown"; Idem, 276, "Stadsherberg or city tavern at the Haagse Port; dined; good house"; Thornhill (1711), 37, "We dined at The Gold Windmill at Delft; had good broiled eels, cost 2d per stick, we eat them with "azijn" or vinegar and pepper and were very good; we

had the best Westphalia ham that ever I tasted – admirable butter and beer, which they called “the white Dorts English beer” – a delicate white wine called Biarna wijn (18 st. per bottle) – good Pontack 30 st. – good French white raisin wine (18 st. per bottle)” [description of interior].

DELFZIJL

Moryson (1592-95), I, 201 (JJ, 250), “Each man paid [...] 24 st. for supper and breakfast and fire in our private chamber”; Payen (1663), “Logez au Cygne Couronné et payez par repas 6 sols”.

DEN BOSCH

Hope (1646), 169, The Kaiser; Fitzwilliam (1663), 13r, “We lodged at The Golden Swan and lay in the same chamber where his majesty of England, King Charles II lay at his being here”; Payen (1663), “Logez à L’Empereur et payez par repas 18 sols”; Monconys (1663), 124, La Cygne sur la place; Baillie (1731), 312, The Golden Lion.

DEVENTER

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Wapen van Overijssel; Monconys (1663), 182, La Lune, contre l’hôtel de ville (host and hostess Catholics); Farrington (1710), 254, Half Moon, best inn in the city but full; we dined at The Caesar’s or Emperor’s Head, which is tolerably good.

DOKKUM

Moryson (1592-95), I, 43 (JJ, 220), “I paid for my supper 20 stivers, eating at an ordinary, but the company sitting at the fire and drinking after supper, all uses to be divided equally, whether a man drink or not”; Payen (1663), “Logez à L’Eléphant et payez par repas 16 sols”.

DORDRECHT

Moryson (1592-95), I, 48 (JJ, 233), “The pot of Rhenish wine is sold for 12 stivers, for which in other places they pay 18 or 20 st. For 3 meals I paid here 30 st.”; Hope (1646), 159, “our lodging [...] one Cornelius Boeffe at The Angel near Rietdijk port”; Bargrave (1653-56), 191r, “We lodged at one Mr. Dolphine’s house, whose entertainment was reasonably good but surpassing dear”; Fraser (1659), 103r, “We lodged in one James Hilton’s, a Scottish tailor married to one Fraser a Dundee woman [...]; they gave us a most friendly reception and would not let us lodge in the hospital though a very fine house

and most convenient"; Payen (1663), "Logez au Lion Rouge et payez par repas 15 sols"; Monconys (1663), 128, La Grande Taverne un logis d'un anglais (tout proche du port); Von Melle (1683), 25, The White Angels; Thornhill (1711), 59, "Dordt is noted for Rhenish; it is 10 st. excise on 2 bottles, which makes it there the old Rhenish 18 st. and the Moselle a guilder"; Idem, 111, "The Red Lion in Dordt, a good house of entertainment".

ENKHUIZEN

Van Vliet (1643), 156, in 't Oost Indische Toorentje; Monconys (1663), 174, au Baril; Locke (1683-89), 109, The Golden Tun; Anon. 1691, 30, The East India Tower; Farrington (1710), 38, The Castle; Baillie (1731), 387, "The best house is The Toorn [the tower] upon the shore".

FRANEKER

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Kempo Takes, Vergulde Falck op de mert; Anon. 1669, 52v, The Golden Falcon; Idem, 58r, "The Falcon, the best inn in the town and good wine there was, but one of the dearest places I ever came in"; Farrington (1710), 42, "Lodged close to the university at the sign of The Sun, just within the gate".

GENEMUIDEN

Brockman (1686), 65, The sign of Zwolle.

GORKUM

Payen (1663), "Logez au S. George et payez par repas 18 sols"; Pri-deaux (1711), 73v, St. George, paid very dear.

GRONINGEN

Moryson (1592-95), I, 201 (JJ, 250), "Here we paid 8 st. each man for a plentiful dinner but without wine"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, Jean Tatarr, Toelast, merct; Payen (1663), "Logez au Toulas et payez par repas 25 sols"; Fitzwilliam (1663), 24v, "The townhouse [...] stands upon a fair marketplace, the Breemarket, where we did lodge"; Von Melle (1683), 15, Raadhuis van Embden; Anon. 1691, 28, The Golden Helmet; Farrington (1710), 52, "Lodged at Peter Toelast's sign of The Toelast or Great Tun just by the great church in the marketplace. Good house, well entertained and pretty reasonable".

HAARLEM

Moryson (1592-95), I, 45 (JJ, 226), "Here I paid for supper and my part of wine 20 st., and for my dinner without wine 13 st."; Idem, "I paid for supper, bed and breakfast 25 st."; Fraser (1659), 95r, "There is here a good hospital for strangers, where they are attended and treated with great care and civility"; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Navire et payez par repas 16 sols"; Monconys (1663), 157, La Toison d'Or (au bout de la place à coté de l'église; De Medici (1667-69), 90-92, The Golden Peacock; The Stork; Roch (1678), 105, "An Englishman's house, one John Abbot"; Anon. 1695-99, 35, "At The Fleece in the Fishmarket we intended to lodge, but the landlady demanding six guilders (almost 12 s. sterling) for part of a cold neck of veal, we left that house"; Bowrey (1698), 47, "We lodged here at The Golden Fleece near the east side of the Great Church, it is a good house"; Farrington (1710), 26, "The Golden Lion in the market place [...] (French at 20 a bottle)"; Thornhill (1711), 25, Golden Fleece.

HAGUE, cf. THE HAGUE

HARLINGEN

Moryson (1592-95), I, 43 (JJ, 221), "I lodged in an Englishman's house, the chief host of the city [...] I paid for my supper and breakfast with wine 30 st. and one of my consorts drinking no wine paid 16, whereof 9 was for beer"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, Pauw; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Cigogne et payez par repas 15 sols"; Von Melle (1683), 16, The Peacock (honest landlord); Anon. 1691, 30, The Peacock.

HELLEVOETSLUIS

Perth (1693-94), 46, "We got into an English house (one Howie's, he says he is cousin germain to the Earl of Buchan, a very honest man)"; Isham (1704-07), 103, The Sun, an English house; Whitworth (1710), 198v, "Mr. Lovell's, extravagant dear house and very inconvenient because of the several lodgers"; Idem, 199v, "A parcel of rude Saxons getting drunk every night, I removed my lodgings to the coffeehouse"; Farrington (1710), 7, "Mr. Legs, the sign of The Gold Ball, the best house in town, though all are dear"; Idem, 278, The English House; Thornhill (1711), 31-32, The Crown, Mr. Lovell's.

'S-HERTOGENBOSCH, cf. DEN BOSCH

HOORN

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Roode Molen; Fitzwilliam (1663), 20r, "We lodged a night at The White Swan, but paid too dear for our diet and lodging"; De Medici (1667-69), 144-45; 217, St. Joris Doelen; Anon. 1669, 53r, "The Golden Lion, the best inn, although I cannot commend it much, but the man is a very civil person and the inn would be the better if the woman were as well conditioned"; Isham (1704-07), 39, The Heer Lodgement; Farrington (1710), 37, "The best house in town, just within the low port where the boat comes on from Olderdijk"; Leake (1711-12), 17r, "We took up our quarters at The Moor's Head, where we were civilly and reasonably treated"; Baillie (1731), 387, "You may dine at The Dool".

KALTHERBERG (between Leeuwarden and Groningen)

Moryson (1592-95), I, 201 (JJ, 250), "Each man paid 12 st. for his supper and 7 st. for his drink, while in good fellowship we sat at the fire after supper".

KAMPEN

Van Vliet (1643), 160, by den Majoor, Ceulshen Dom, Oldestraet.

LEEUWARDEN

Moryson (1592-95), I, 55 (JJ, 247), "I paid for my supper 10 st."; Idem, 201 (JJ, 250), "Each man paid [...] 34 st. for his supper and breakfast with wine"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, Gerritje Fridjes, Gulden Hooft op de mert; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Cigogne et payez par repas 14 sols"; Anon. 1669, 52v, "the best inn in town, The Heron at the Fishmarket"; Brockman (1686), 57, The Old White Sun; Anon. 1691, 29, The Bentham; Farrington (1710), 44, "The sign of The Stork over against the Waegh [...] the woman speaks a little English".

LEIDEN

Moryson (1592-95), I, 46 (JJ, 227), "I paid for my diet and chamber in this Frenchman's house 3 guldens and 15 st. weekly, but in the common inns they pay 10 or 15 st. a meal according to the quantity of beer they drink and ordinarily 20 st. or more if they drink wine"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, Hans Friessch, Vergulde Leeuw; Denne (1646), 22, at one Charles Burrowes his house; Hope (1646), 165, The Golden Lion; Fraser (1659), 96r, "There are several hospitals in Leyden; that of the Trinity for travellers and pilgrims is great and

commodious and in it we lodged well for one night"; Payen (1663), "Logez à L'Empereur et payez par repas 12 sols"; Monconys (1663), 150, à L'Ecu de France; De Medici (1667-69), 96-98; 250-51, The Golden Lilies, opposite the stadhuis; Browne (1668), journal, 8r, the English coffeehouse; Roch (1678), 105, The White Hart, an English house; Von Melle (1683), 22, lodged with art dealer Johan Tangena in Kloksteeg corner Rapenburg; meals with Fr. Outhuysen in the Kloksteeg; Molyneux (1683-85), 327, Widow Van der Stein's in the Long Bridgestreet; Brockman (1686), 60v, "The Swan, near where the boats go off for Amsterdam"; Idem, 63v, The White Hart; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 320, "They speak French at the sign of The Prince of Brandenburg"; Locke (1683-89), accounts 1688 (MS f 34, p. 4), "The Golden Lion, paid 2 gulden 16 st. for two"; Anon. 1695-99, 35, The White Hart; Shrewsbury (1705-06), 481, Golden Lion; Isham (1704-07), 17, "We took up our quarters at The Royal Billard in the Broad Street"; Idem, 100, "We lay [...] at a Frenchman's called Coulart at The Arms of England in the Great Street"; Farrington (1710), 10, "Lodged at Colliard's, a Scotch house at the sign of The Scotch Arms, in the Broad Street, the best house in town except The Prince of Brandenburg, excessive dear. Colliard's is pretty reasonable"; Prideaux (1711), 73v, 74v, The Golden Lion; Th. Harvie (Wodrow, *Correspondence*, letter III), The Queen's Head in the Rapenburgh; Rawlinson (1719), 9, Ryland; Baillie (1731), 387, "Lodge at The Castle of Antwerp on the Rapenburg".

LOO

Farrington (1710), 254, The Half Moon (a small inn) .

MAASSLUIS

Thornhill (1711), 33-35, "At our landing at Maaslandsluis, our goods were wheelbarrowed as before to the commissary's, who keeps The Golden Lion though we should have gone to The Blackmoor's Head [...], but being so full of people we went to the place aforesaid" [description of interior].

MAASTRICHT

Payen (1663), "Logez au Heaume et payez par repas 40 sols"; Monconys (1663), 123, au Heaume sur la place; *Den wech naer het Spaa* (1659), Mr. Augustijn in De Wintmeulen; Browne (1668), journal, 24v, La Rose; Drake (1710) (list), Le Moulin de Vent.

MEDEMBLIK

Monconys (1663), 174, au Renard d'Or; Baillie (1731), 388, "The best house The Valck" (the Falcon).

MEPPEL

Van Vliet (1643), 160, In den Wilde Man.

MIDDELBURG

Moryson (1592-95), I, 50 (JJ, 236), "Here I paid for my supper 5 st. in the English House, where the host is only bound to provide for the merchants and such guests as they invite, yet many times he admits English gentlemen, both to lodge and to eat there"; Idem, I, 51 (JJ, 239), "I paid 6 st. for my supper and 2 for my bed and providing victuals to carry by sea I paid for a loin of mutton 24 st. as also for my washing 7 st.; and staying in the town 2 days I spent in all 4 guldens and 4 st."; Fraser (1659), 104r, "We lodged in one Alexander Wilson's house, clerk and recorder to the Scottish company of merchants"; Payen (1663), "Logez à L'Ecu de France et payez par repas 15 sols"; Monconys (1663), 109, La Maison d'Hambourg à la place; Isham (1704-07), 29, The Arms of France; Taylor (1707), 78, "The Golden Lion, in the Long Delft".

MOLKWERUM

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Aages, Witte Swan.

NIEUWE SCHANS

Farrington (1710), 63, "Lodged at The Prince's Head".

NIJMEGEN

Fraser (1659), 85r, "a large hospital for pilgrims where we lodged"; Monconys (1663), 184, au Cerf; De Medici (1667-69), 286-88, The Hart; Anon. 1669, 52r, "The Hart Inn, where there is one of the noblest rooms to eat in that I have seen anywhere in an inn"; Idem, 55v, "The Hart (market) a widow woman, her husband was an Englishman, his name Taylor (1707); a good ordinary but something dear, half a rixdollar, wine 10 st. more, good Mosel wine"; Perth (1693-94), 48, "We are ill lodged, even in the best tavern in town"; Anon. 1691, 7, The Swan; Chiswell (1696), 12, "The Red Lion, extremely good and cheap"; Farrington (1710), 233, "The sign of The Swan; good house, good ordinary, Mr. Van der Marsh"; Prideaux (1711), 73r, Keyser's Hoff.

PURMEREND

Van Vliet (1643), 160, tot de Schout, Wit Peerd, op de mert.

ROTTERDAM

Moryson (1592-95), I, 48 (JJ, 231), "Here I lodged at an Englishman's house and paid for my supper 10 st., for my breakfast 2 st. and for beer between meals 5 st.; by which expense compared with that of the Flemish inns, it is apparent that strangers in their reckonings pay for the intemperate drinking of their Dutch companions"; Brereton (1634), 8, "My host of St. John the Baptist's Head in a Platter [...] Mr. Henry Custis"; Denne (1646), 21, "We went to an English Herberg, at the sign of The Golden Swan, one Maddox keeps it"; Hope (1646), 167, "I lodged with Henry Nisbitt"; Fraser (1659), 101v, "We found a good hospital here, which proved our best lodging"; Yonge (1666-67), 100, "An Englishwoman and her daughter, who lived at The Newcastle Arms on the New Haven"; Payen (1663), "Logez à L'Ecu de France et payez par repas 24 sols"; Monconys (1663), 129, La Place Royale; De Medici (1667-69), 118 etc., The Three Lilies; Browne (1668), journal, 5v, "at Mr. Smith's at the English Coffeeshouse in the Hoogtuin"; Lemaître (1681), 308, La Place Royale, "attire tous ceux de la nation" [French spoken, kept by 3 sisters]; Von Melle (1683), 25, The Boar's Head, Grote Markt; Erskine (1685-86), 108, James Bruce's coffeeshouse; Idem, 109, "I took a chamber [...] in Robert Gibb's, sometime merchant in Stirling"; Idem, 162, "I lodged in Charles Reid's"; Gordon (1686), 125, the sign of Dundee; Brockman (1686), 59v, 66v, The Crosskeys; Penson (1687), 9r, "I took up my abode in the house of one Mr. James Hayes a Scotchman (his wife is a Dutchwoman) at the sign of The Ship near the Admiralty Office"; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 319, "There are two English inns kept by Davis and Rutter. They speak French at Le Roux's at the sign of The City of Rouen, and at De Pot's at the sign of The City of Bourdeaux, two small inns"; Anon. 1695-99, 5, An English House; Idem, 30 Mr. Davis; Idem, 33, Mr. Davis on the Herring Fleet; Addison (1703), 40, Pennington's; Idem, 41-42, "Jackson's [...], The Scotch Arms"; Shrewsbury (1705-06), 477, "We went to 2 or 3 places before we found a lodging, we stayed at Mr. Davis's till they found us one at The Dool [De Doelen]"; Bérard (1706-11), 123, Pennington's; Isham (1704-07), 6, "Lodged at The Crosskeys in Erasmus's place"; Idem, 12, "at the sign of The Mareschal de Turenne, which is in a lane that leads from Erasmus place"; Idem, 26, "We got but an indifferent

lodging in a Frenchman's house at the sign of a Goat in the New Street by the Exchange"; Idem, 101, "I dined [...] at The Queen's Arms"; Taylor (1707), 5-6, "Mr. Thomas' in Vine Street, where I was recommended to lodge [...] very neat and as common in this country, paved with marble. I was accommodated with very fine linen"; Drake (1710), 17, "The best inns at Rotterdam are Pennington's and Witherington's"; Drake (1710), (list) adds Maréchal de Turenne; Farrington (1710), 8, "Lodged at The Queen's Arms at the Old Head at Witherington's formerly Bream's good house"; Farrington (1710), 275, "Lodged at Mr. Stanfons near the Exchange, a private house"; Thornhill (1711), 102; 109, "Pennington's, the chief house of entertainment"; 109, "The Merchant's Arms, in Newhaven, Mr. William Johnson's an ordinary, 8d. a head and a pint of wine into it"; Monsr. Le Combe, "a French ordinary, a corner house, and good wine"; 111, "At Mr. Ward's on the Boomties, the British House, is the best Newcastle ale [...] 8 st. a quart"; "Withrington's at The King's Arms at Rotterdam, a very good house and good Pontak at 24 st."; "Capt. Pitt's at The British Army, a good house"; Prideaux (1711), 73v, Marshal de Turenne's; Idem, 74v, The Crown and Scepter in the New Haven; Anon. 1711, 1, Mr. Penington's; Leake (1711-12), 13r, "We lodged at The Scepter and Crown, in the New Haven"; Baillie (1731), 310, "To Edwards for two nights lodging at Rotterdam, he reckoned it a week [...] 75 gulden"; Idem, 386, "Avoid the English House, the most impertinently imposing of any we met with"; cf. Nugent (1743), I, 109, Mr. Edwards, Gelders Key, "which is much the genteelst and very reasonable, considering the goodness of the accommodation in which everything is the best of the kind".

SLUIS

Brockman (1686), 70v, The Golden Port, "well accommodated [...] the master whereof speaks English and is a Dane born"; Taylor (1707), 61, "a private house, they speak English".

SNEEK

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Lutske-moij, Witten Aernt; Brockman (1686), 60, "The White Crowned Eagle, a dear house".

STAVEREN

Moryson (1592-95), I, 201 (JJ, 250), "Each man paid [...] 4 [st.] for his supper and 4 for beer"; Van Vliet (1643), 160, Witte Swan; Brockman

(1686), 54, "lodged at [left blank] without the gate"; Isham (1704-07), 41, "Went to the inn which stands a little out of the town".

THE HAGUE

Skene (1590), 29v, "the sign of The Earls"; 33v, The Great Hart; Moryson (1592-95), I, 51 (JJ, 239), "I hired a chamber for which, for my bed, sheets, tablecloths, towels and dressing of my meat I paid 25 st. weekly. I bought my own meat and living privately with as much frugality as conveniently I might, I spent by the week no more than 5 guldens and a half, though all things were in this place extraordinarily dear. My beer in one week came to 14 st. and among other things bought I paid for a quarter of lamb 30 st., for a hen 7 st., for a pigeon 4 st, for a rabbit 3 st."; Idem, I, 200 (JJ, 248-49), "I paid for my supper a Flemish gulden and 17 st."; Brereton (1634), 37, "Mr. Tomkins, who keeps The Blue Anchor [...] I paid for my ordinary 26 st."; Denne (1646), 21, "We took up our lodging at one Jones his house, an Englishman at the sign of The Arms of England and The Queen's Head"; Hope (1646), 165, "We lodged at the sign of The Swan near the Court"; Fraser (1659), 99r, "We got here a good hospital and very well provided for the accommodation of strangers and one of the attendants of the hospital was Will Kansey, a Scot"; Fitzwilliam (1663), 30v, "The Vijverberg, upon which we did lodge by Mr. Hessing, the Duke of Neuburg's agent"; Payen (1663), "Logez au Samson et payez par repas 24 sols"; Monconys (1663), 134, au Dauphin Royal (au bout du canal); De Medici (1667-69), 104-06 etc., The French Dolphin on the Vijverberg; Gordon (1686), 125, The Scots Arms; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 320, "The best inns are The Imperial Court, The Gorcum and The Landgrave of Hesse. The Viscount of Turenne and The City of Paris are small French Inns"; Southwell (1696), 48, "I got into a good lodging on the Plein"; Anon. 1695-99, 34, Mr. Cook's, an English ordinary; Bowrey (1698), 77-78, "Mijnheer Steegman in De Nieuwe Doelen; [...] eat well at a guilder a head – ordinary bespeaking it so"; Shrewsbury (1705-06), 478, "We had a lodging provided near The Marshal Turenne"; Isham (1704-07), 13, "We lodged at The Mareschal de Turenne in the Hooge straat"; Idem, 100, "Lodged at The Golden Lion in the Buitenhof, one Mul-lers"; Idem, 101, "I dined at the other Golden Lion"; Idem, 102, "I dined at Les Bons Amis, a public house"; Drake (1710), 15, "We lodged at Mr. Beker's at The St. Andrew's Cross near the Old Court [in a list he adds "in the Buitenhof"]", which are very good lodgings.

The best ordinaries are either of the Golden Lions"; Taylor (1707), 87, "I have taken up my lodging at The Golden Lion, near the Hof van Holland"; Whitworth (1710), 198r, "The Hof van Pfaltz on the Plein"; Farrington (1710), 21, "The Golden Lion a good ordinary for a guilder, good lodging and reasonable for The Hague"; Thornhill (1711), 47, "We came to Mr. Muller's The Golden Lion in the Outer Court [...]. The ordinary here is a guilder per head dinner, ½ a guilder supper and 8 st. a head our servants' dinner (and 4 st. per head their breakfasts and 6 st per head their suppers). We had for supper 3 small dishes viz. a good crab, 4 pigeons and asparagus (and a good dish of peas), strawberries, butter and cheese"; Leake (1711-12), 15r, "We lodged at The Golden Lion in the Buitenhof"; Anon. 1712, 5v, "Mr. Schultz a watchmaker in La Courte Pote"; Baillie (1731), 386, "Lodge at Mr. Adams at The Golden Star and Lion in the Korte Houtstraat near the Plein. There is an ordinary, which it is very right to dine at when you do not stay long in a place, to see the manners and ways of different people, but a disagreeable thing to be constantly in a crowd of strangers".

TIEL

Hoby (1550-55), 125, The Pelican.

UTRECHT

Moryson (1592-95), I, 54 (JJ, 244), "Here I paid for my supper 20 st. and for my breakfast 6 st."; Fraser (1659), 88v, "There is a good hospital here, where we got a night and a day's lodging and provision; a diet for meat, drink, bed and all necessaries, singularly fine"; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Croix de Ierusalem et payez par repas 16 sols"; Monconys (1663), 180, La Place Royale, the host is a German his niece keeps L'Heaume at Maastricht; De Medici (1667-69), 32-33, etc, Castle of Antwerp; Idem, 283, Place Royale de Paris; Browne (1668), journal, 12v, at Glover's ordinary; Von Melle (1683), 25, Castle of Antwerp; Locke, 30 September, The Jerusalem; Brockman (1686), 53r, The Jerusalem Arms; Idem, 91r, La Place Royale; Misson (1687), Engl. ed., II, 321, "The best Inn is at the sign of The White Gate. Grant, an Englishman keeps also an ordinary"; Penson (1687), 30v, "at the sign of The Jerusalem Cross, a good house where I found divers English Gentlemen had lodged, by their names written in the glass windows"; Anon. 1695-99, 27, Mr. Grant's, a good English ordinary; Isham (1704-07), 23, at The Castle of Antwerp on the Old

Canal; Drake (1710), 13, "The best inn there is The Castle of Antwerp"; Prideaux (1711), Castle of Antwerp; Leake (1711-12), 15r, The Castle of Antwerp; Farrington (1710), 264, "The sign of Groningen Mr. Dadelbeck's on the Horse market, a good house"; Thornhill (1711), 111, "Castle of Antwerp, best entertainment at Utrecht"; Baillie (1731), 312, The Castle of Antwerp; Idem, 387, "Lodge at The Casteel van Antwerp op de Ganse markt".

VEERE

Hope (1646), 156, "I lodged in Mr. Arnot's, master of the Scots House there".

VIANEN

Payen (1663), "Logez à La Rose et payez par repas 18 sols"; Fitzwilliam (1663), 15, the sign of The Angel.

VLIELAND

Moryson (1592-95), I, 55 (JJ, 246), "In this island I paid for my supper and bed 10 st., for my breakfast and dinner 8 st.".

VLISSINGEN

Denne (1646), 20, "the sign of The Plaice, Mr. John Gregorius being host, a native"; Payen (1663), "Logez à La Ville de Rouen et payez par repas 25 sols"; Monconys (1663), 111, La Ruche; Yonge (1666-67), 105, an Englishman's house; Taylor (1707), 77, The Golden Pear.

ZUTPHEN

Monconys (1663), 183, Le Perdrix d'Or (the woman is extraordinarily big, a Catholic); Anon. 1669, 52r, "The Vergulden Velthoen, or Pidgeon as I take it"; Anon. 1691, 26, The Keizerskroon; Farrington (1710), 250, "The Crown, civil host, good usage".

ZWOLLE

Van Vliet (1643), 160, Witte Wan, merct; Anon. 1691, 27, The Seven Provinces.

APPENDIX V

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TRAVELLERS

This list shows the year(s) in which the traveller visited Holland; or if a constant or regular visitor, the year which provides the relevant information. This is followed by an abbreviation showing the character of the travel account (TJ = travel journal; C = correspondence; M = memoirs; PD = private diary, notes or commonplace book; A = financial accounts; Dir = Directions for travellers; Obs = general observations; guide = guidebook; ★ = only available in MS). Where it is difficult to classify a text a / is used, as for instance PD/TJ (Hope, 1646), which means that there is only one document, which has characteristics of both private diary and travel journal. Where possible the years of the traveller's birth and death have been given. GT means that the visit to Holland formed part of a Grand Tour. It is also indicated in what quality the traveller made his or her journey (e.g. diplomat, tourist, student). More biographical information on the travellers can be found in the works of reference given in an abbreviated form in most entries.

1550, 1555	TJ	HOBY, Sir Thomas (1530-1566) GT	diplomat <i>DNB</i>
1564	TJ	UNTON, Sir Edward (1534-1582) GT	diplomat <i>Commons</i>
1572-89	M	WILLIAMS, Sir Roger (1540-1595)	soldier <i>DNB</i>
1573-74	Poem	GASCOIGNE, George (1535-1577)	soldier <i>DNB</i>
1580	TJ★	THROCKMORTON, Sir Arthur (c.1557-1626) GT	tourist <i>Commons</i>
1585-1606	M	VERE, Sir Francis (1560-1609)	soldier <i>DNB</i>
1590	TJ★	SKENE, Sir John (1543?-1617)	diplomat <i>DNB</i>

1591-92	C	BODLEY, Sir Thomas (1545-1613) <i>DNB; Commons; Schutte</i>	diplomat
1592-95	TJ, Obs.	MORYSON, Fynes (1566-1617) GT Leiden 1593 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1595	TJ*	PIERS, Henry (d.1623) GT <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1598	TJ	PARRY, William (fl. 1601) with Sir A. Shirley <i>DNB</i>	diplomat
1598	TJ	MANWARING, George (died c.1612) with Sir A. Shirley <i>Commons</i>	diplomat
1600-59	M	HOLLES family	soldiers
1603	TJ	SPENCER; Robert, Lord (1570-1627) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	diplomat
1608,	M	HALL, Joseph (1574-1656) with Sir Edmund Bacon (c.1570-1649)	diplomat
1618-19		present at synod of Dordt <i>DNB</i>	clergyman
1608	TJ	CORYAT(E), Thomas (1577?-1617) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1608-20	M	BRADFORD, William (1590-1657) <i>DNB</i>	puritan refugee
1609	Obs.	OVERBURY, Sir Thomas (1581-1613) <i>DNB</i>	diplomat
1610, 1616	M	HERBERT of Cherbury; Edward, Lord (1583-1648) <i>DNB</i>	diplomat
1611	C	CHAMBERLAIN, John (1554-1628) GT <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1612	C*	LORKIN, Thomas (d.1625) tutor to Sir Thomas Puckering (1592-1636) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1612-13?	C	DONNE, John (1573-1631) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1612	C	SIDNEY, Robert, Viscount Lisle (1563-1626) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	soldier

1613	TJ	ELIZABETH STUART (1596-1662) <i>DNB</i>	state visit
1613	M	PETT, Phineas (1570-1647) in suite of Elizabeth Stuart <i>DNB</i>	
1613	M	FERRAR, Nicholas (1592-1637) GT in suite of Elizabeth Stuart <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1616-30	C	CARLETON, Sir Dudley (1574-1632) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i> ; Schutte	diplomat
1618	C	HALES, John (1584-1656) at the synod of Dordt <i>DNB</i> ; Schutte	clergyman
1619, 1623	C, Obs.	HOWELL, James (1593-1666) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1620	TJ	TAYLOR, John ("the Water Poet") (1580-1653) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1620-29	C	FAIRFAX family	soldiers
1621	TJ	CHAWORTH, Sir George (c.1569-1639) <i>Peerage</i>	diplomat
1622-24	M	POYNTZ, Sydenham (fl. 1645-1650) <i>DNB</i>	soldier
1623	TJ*	DAWES, T. ? <i>Gray's Inn</i> 1630	tourist
1624	C*	MOR(E)TON, Peter B.A. Cambridge 1622	diplomat
1624	C	CARLETON, Lady Anna (d.1627); wife of Sir Dudley	with husband
1624-25	M	WILSON, Arthur (1595-1652) <i>DNB</i>	soldier
1627	C	COPPIN, Thomas (c.1604) Lincoln's Inn 1624-25; Leiden 1627	tourist
1627-39	PD*	HIGGS, Griffin (1589-1659) chaplain to Elizabeth Stuart <i>DNB</i>	clergyman
1628-47	C*	BOOTH, William	soldier
1629-30	C	SUCKLING, Sir John (1609-1641) GT Leiden 1630 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1629	TJ*	BAGOT, William	tourist
1632-33	M	RAYMOND, Thomas (1610-1681)	soldier

1632, 1636, 1641-42	C	HOWARD, Thomas, Earl of Arundel (1586-1646) <i>DNB</i>	diplomat
1634	TJ	BRERETON, Sir William (1604-1661) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1635-47	PD*	DRAKE, Sir William (1606-69) Burke, <i>Extinct</i>	tourist
1636	TJ	CROWNE, William (c.1617-c.1683) in the suite of Thomas Howard to the Emperor	tourist
1637	TJ	LITHGOW, William (1582?-1645?) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1637-56	C	VERNEY family Utrecht; Burke	soldiers students
1637-67	TJ*	BETHELL, Hugh, GT	tourist
1640	TJ	MUNDY, Peter (c.1596-after 1667) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1640-54	M	CUNINGHAM, Thomas (c.1604-c.1670) Schutte	diplomat
1641	TJ/M	EVELYN, John (1620-1706) GT Leiden 1641 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1644	C	CONSTABLE, John, 2nd Viscount Dunbar (c.1615-1668) <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1644-46	PD	FORBES of Corse, John (1593-1648) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1646	TJ	DENNE, Thomas (1623-1648)	tourist
1646	PD/TJ	HOPE of Hopetown, Sir James (1614-1661) <i>DNB</i>	businessman
1648	M	HYDE, Edward, Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1649	TJ*	BERRY, John (1631-1704) M.A. Oxford, 1653; Leiden 1649	tourist
1649	M	LIVINGSTONE, John (1603-1672) on mission to Charles II	clergyman
1663-72		covenanter in exile <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1653, 1656	TJ*	BARGRAVE, Robert GT <i>Gray's Inn</i> 1640	tourist

1654-60	M	TURNER, Sir James (1615-1686?) on mission for Charles II <i>DNB</i>	diplomat
1655-56	C	STUBBS, John (1618?-1674)	Quaker preacher
1655-56	PD*	FANE, Sir Francis (died c.1681) Leiden 1629 <i>DNB</i>	GT tourist
1655-63	M	CATON, William (1636-1665) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1656-59	C	AMES, William (d.1662) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1657	M	HARVEY, Gideon (1637-1700?) Leiden 1657; <i>DNB</i> ; Munk, II, 11-12	student
1657	TJ, Obs, M	RERESBY, Sir John (1634-1689) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i>	GT tourist
1658	C*	HAMMOND, William (of Wilberton near Ely) GT	tourist
1658-72	PD	DOWNING, Sir George (1623-1684) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i> ; Schutte	diplomat
1659	TJ*	LAWSON, John (d.1705) M.D. Padua 1659; Munk, I, 367	GT tourist
1659	TJ, Obs*	FRASER, James (1634-1709) Aberdeen MA 1655	GT tourist
1660	PD	PEPYS, Samuel (1633-1703) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1660	TJ	CHARLES II (1630-1685) <i>DNB</i>	state visit
1660-61	M	SIBBALD, Robert (c.1643-c.1712) Leiden 1660; <i>DNB</i> ; Munk, I, 439-41	student
1661-62	TJ*	MOODY, Robert, GT servant to Banister (Lord) Maynard (1642-1718)	tourist
1662	TJ*	ANON. GT	tourist
1662	M	RAWDON, Marmaduke (1610-1669) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1662	C	FINCH, Sir John (c.1626-1682) <i>DNB</i> ; Munk, I, 298-300	tourist
1663	TJ, Obs	RAY, John (1627-1705) <i>DNB</i>	GT tourist
1663	TJ	SKIPPON, Sir Philip (1641-1691) travelled with John Ray <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i>	GT tourist

1663	TJ*	FITZWILLIAM; William, Lord (1643-1719) <i>Commons; Peerage</i>	tourist
c.1663	M	KNOLLYS, Hanserd (1599?-1691) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1664, 1686-89	M, C	BURNET, Gilbert (1643-1715) GT <i>DNB</i>	tourist/ refugee
1666-67	M	YONGE, James (1647-1721) <i>DNB; Munk, II, 2-6</i>	prisoner of war
1667	M	TAYLOR, John (1637-1708) Quaker preacher Braithwaite (1961)	
1668	C, TJ*	BROWNE, Edward (1644-1708) <i>DNB; Munk, I, 372-77</i>	tourist
1668-70, 1674-79	C, M, Obs	TEMPLE, Sir William (1628-1699) <i>DNB; Commons; Schutte</i>	diplomat
1669	TJ, Obs, Dir*	ANON. gentleman	tourist
1669	TJ*	STYLE, Thomas (d. 1672) GT	tourist
1670	TJ*	TURN(O)UR, Sir Edward (1643-1721) <i>DNB; Schutte</i>	diplomat
1670-71	PD*	GOOCHE, Mr. (b. 1651) Utrecht	student
1671	TJ*	WALKER, John (of Hadley Middlesex) Inner Temple	tourist
1672	C, Obs*	ANON.	tourist
1672	C	VERNON, James (1646?-1727) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
1672	C	SAVILLE, George; Marquis of Halifax (1633-95) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	diplomat
1674	TJ	BARLOW, Edward (b. 1642)	prisoner of war
1674	TJ, Obs*	DINGLEY (or Dineley), Thomas (d.1695) secretary to Sir George Downing <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1674-79	C	JENKINS, Sir Leoline (c.1625-1685) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	diplomat
1674-1713	M	CARLETON, Capt. George (fl. 1728) <i>DNB</i>	soldier
1676	PD*	CLERK, Sir John sr. (c.1650-1722) M.P.; Burke	tourist
1676	PD, Obs*	ANON. prob. at Leiden	tourist

1677	PD, C	HYDE, Laurence; Earl of Rochester (1642-1711) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	diplomat
1677	M	PENN, William (1644-1718) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1677, 1684	M	FOX, George (1624-1691) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1677	PD	HAISTWELL, Edward J. Fox's servant	Quaker
1677-89	M	MARY II Stuart (1662-1694) wife of William III <i>DNB</i>	with husband
1678	TJ	ROCH, Jeremy (c.1640-after 1691)	shipwrecked
1678-79	PD	THORESBY, Ralph (1658-1725) <i>DNB</i>	apprentice
1678-79	TJ, Dir	NICOLSON, William (1655-1727) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1679	PD*	RIDLEY, Humphrey (1653?-1708) Leiden 1679; <i>DNB</i> ; Munk, I, 490	tourist
1679-82	PD, C	SIDNEY, Henry, Earl of Romney (1641-1704) <i>DNB; Commons</i> ; Schutte	diplomat
1679-83	C	FERGUSON, Robert (d.1714) <i>DNB</i>	Whig refugee
1680-81	Guide	CARR, William (b. 1631-32) Schutte	diplomat
1681-83	C	DUNLOP, William (born 1662) (of Gamkirk near Glasgow)	apprentice
1682	TJ, Obs	VERYARD, Ellis (1657-1714) Leiden 1678; Utrecht 1679	GT tourist
1683-85	C	MOLYNEUX, Sir Thomas (1661-1733) Leiden 1683; <i>DNB</i>	student
1683-?	C	PAPILLON, Thomas (1623-1702) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	refugee
1683-89	PD*	LOCKE, John (1632-1704) <i>DNB</i>	tourist refugee
1684-85	PD	SCOTT, James; Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1684-91	M	SHOWER, John (1657-1715) <i>DNB</i>	refugee

c.1685	M	HOOVER, Dr. George (1640-1727) chaplain to Mary II Stuart <i>DNB</i>	clergyman
1685	M	HUME, Sir Patrick (1641-1724) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1685-86	PD	ERSKINE of Carnock, John (1662-1743)	refugee
1685-88	M	Leiden 1685; Utrecht NIMMO, James (1654-1709) <i>DNB</i>	student refugee
1685, 1692, 1697	TJ*	RICHARDS, Jacob (1660?-1701) <i>DNB</i>	tourist soldier
1686	PD	GORDON of Auchleuchries, Patrick (1635-1699) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1686	TJ, Obs	NORTHLEIGH, John (1657-1705) <i>DNB</i>	GT tourist
1686	TJ*	ANON. Gentleman	GT tourist
1686	C	DUKE, Isabella (1650-1705) with her husband	tourist
1686	M	HOWE, John (1630-1705) <i>DNB</i>	refugee
1686	M*	WHARTON, Goodwin (1653-1704) <i>Commons</i>	refugee
1686, 1689	A*	BOYLE, Lionel; 3rd Earl of Orrery (1670-1703) Utrecht	GT tourist
1686	TJ*	BROCKMAN, William (c.1658-1742) Cambridge 1674; later M.P.	tourist
1686-87	C	DOUGLAS; George, Lord (c.1667-1693?) <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1686-7	C	CUNNINGHAM, Alexander (1655?-1730) tutor to Lord George Douglas <i>DNB</i>	
1687	A	FERRIER, Major Richard (1663-1720) <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1687	M	PIKE, Joseph (b. 1658) Braithwaite (1961)	Quaker businessman
1687	M	DICKINSON, James (1659-1741) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher

1687	TJ*	PENSON, Thomas (b. 1652)	tourist
1688	M	DUNTON, John (1659-1733) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1688-91	PD*	CRAMOND, Ensign William	soldier
1688-91	M	CALAMY, Edmund (1671-1732) Utrecht 1688 <i>DNB</i>	student
1689-90	Guide	AGLIONBY, William (d.1705) Schutte	diplomat
1690-92	C*	GREY, Henry; 15th Baron Grey de Ruthyn (c.1644-1704) <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1690	TJ, Obs	ANON. GT	tourist
1690-97	C	PRIOR, Matthew (1664-1721) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i> ; Schutte	diplomat
1691	TJ*	ANON. ? Utrecht	tourist
1691	TJ*	ANON. (1691b)	tourist
1691	TJ, Obs	ANON. (<i>A Late Voyage</i>) accompanying King William III	diplomat
1691	A*	SACKVILLE, Charles, 6th Earl of Dorset (1638-1706) <i>DNB</i> ; Schutte	diplomat
1693	C	MACKENZIE, Sir James (1671-1744)	student
1693-94	C	DRUMMOND, James, Earl of Perth (1648-1716) GT <i>DNB</i>	exile
1694-97, 1699	M, C*	CLERK, Sir John (1676-1755) GT Leiden 1695 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1695-97	PD*	BOSWELL, James (d. 1749) Leiden 1695	student student
1695-99	TJ*	ANON.	tourist
1695	TJ	MOUNTAGUE, William (c.1645) ? Middle Temple 1666	tourist
1696	TJ, C*	SOUTHWELL, Edward (1671-1730) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1696	TJ*	CHISWELL, Richard (1673-1751) <i>DNB</i> ; <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1696	TJ	MURE of Glanderstone, William (c.1650-1728) Burke, <i>Extinct</i>	tourist

1697	TJ*	CHILD, Sir Francis (1642-1713) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
1697-99	4TJ*	TALMAN, John (1677-1726) Leiden 1697 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1698	TJ, A	BOWREY, Thomas (c.1650-1713)	tourist
1699	TJ	BROMLEY, William (1663?-1732) GT <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
1699	Obs	HARRIS, Dr. Walter (1647-1732) <i>DNB; Munk, I, 423-24</i>	tourist
1699	C	ELLIS, Charles	tourist
1699-1700	TJ*	ANON. GT Utrecht	tourist
1700	TJ*	NEVILLE, Grey (1681-1723) GT ? Utrecht <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1700	C*	ANON. Lady	tourist
1700	TJ*	ANON. Gentleman	tourist
1700	C	SHAW, Joseph (1671-1733) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1700-01	TJ*	ANON. Gentleman, GT	tourist
1701	C	OLIVER, Dr. William (1659-1716) Leiden 1688 <i>DNB; Munk, I, 493-94</i>	tourist
1701	C*	BENTINCK, Henry, Viscount Woodstock (1682-1726) GT with tutor <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1701-11	Poem	SCOT, John	soldier
1702	C	KENYON, Dr. Roger (d. after 1721) Munk, II, 13	tourist
1703	C	ADDISON, Joseph (1672-1719) GT <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
c.1703-05	*	TUFNEL, Samuel (1682-1758) GT <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1704	C*	INGRAM, Edward M., 4th Viscount Irwin (1686-1714) Leiden, 1704 <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1704	C*	HACCIUS, Johannes (born c.1664) tutor to Lord Irwin Leiden 1704	tourist
1704-05	C*	HOLLINGS, George attendant to Richard Ingram	soldier officer

1704-05, 1707	TJ*	ISHAM, Sir Justinian (1687-1737) Utrecht <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1705-07	TJ, A*	BLAINVILLE, Mr. de GT tutor to sons of secretary Blathwayt	tourist
1705-06	TJ*	TALBOT, Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury (1660-1718) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1706	TJ*	ANON. Military Officer	tourist
1706	M	CLARKE, Dr. George (1661-1736) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
1706-11	C, A*	BERARD, Louis tutor to the Osborne brothers	tourist
1707-11	C	OSBORNE, William H., Earl of Danby (1690-1711) Utrecht	tourist
1707-11	C	OSBORNE, Peregrine H., 3rd Duke of Leeds (1691-1731) Utrecht	tourist
1707-09	C*	COMPTON, James, 5th Earl of Northampton (1687-1754) with his tutor James Hay <i>Peerage</i>	tourist
1707	TJ*	BURNET, Elizabeth (1661-1709) wife of G. Burnet (cf. 1664) <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1707	TJ*	BURNET, daughter of G. Burnet	tourist
1707	C*	TAYLOR, Joseph (1679?-1759) Middle Temple; <i>Commons</i>	tourist
1708-09; 1710-11	C*	BLACKETT, John Rotterdam	merchant
1709	C*	FORRESTER, Alexander (born c.1678) Inner Temple 1691; Oxford 1692-93	tourist
1709	M	CHALKLEY, Thomas (1675-1714) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1710	C*	FARRINGTON, John	tourist
1710	TJ*	ANON. gentleman	tourist
1710, 1716	TJ*	CLEMENT, Simon	tourist
1710	TJ*	DRAKE, Montagu Gerrard (1692-1728) GT <i>Commons</i>	tourist

1710	TJ*	WHITWORTH, Charles (1675-1725) <i>DNB; Commons; Schutte</i>	diplomat
1711	TJ	THORNHILL, Sir James (1675-1734) <i>DNB; Commons</i>	tourist
1711	TJ*	PRIDEAUX, Sir Edmund (1647-1720) Oxford 1663	tourist
1711	TJ*	ANON. gentleman GT	tourist
1711-12	C, A*	THROCKMORTON, George with tutor	tourist
1711-12	C*	PLUMER, Walter (1682?-1746) <i>Commons</i>	diplomat
1711-12	TJ*	LEAKE, John (born c.1682) Leiden 1711; tutor to H. Wright, son of the vicar of Stepney	tourist
1712	TJ*	ANON. Gentleman	tourist
1714	C	STANHOPE, Philip Dormer, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) <i>DNB; Commons; Schutte</i>	tourist
1714	M	STORY, Thomas (1670?-1742) <i>DNB</i>	Quaker preacher
1719-20	A*, 2TJ*	RAWLINSON, Richard (1690-1755) M.A. Oxford 1713; Leiden 1719 <i>DNB</i>	tourist
1731, 1740	A, Dir	BAILLIE, Lady Grisell (1665-1746) daughter of Sir Patrick Hume (cf. 1685) <i>DNB</i>	tourist

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London.
BMHG	<i>Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap</i>
Bod. Lib.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Cambridge Commons	J. and J.A. Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i> , Cambridge, 1922-54. S.T. Bindoff, <i>The House of Commons 1509-1558</i> , 3 vols., London, 1982; P.W. Hasler, <i>The House of Commons 1558-1603</i> , 3 vols., London, 1981; B.D. Henning, <i>The House of Commons 1660-1690</i> , 3 vols., London, 1983; R. Sedgwick, <i>The House of Commons 1715-1754</i> , 2 vols., London, 1970; L. Namier and J. Brooke, <i>The House of Commons 1754-1790</i> , 3 vols., London, 1964.
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic.</i>
CSPF	<i>Calendar of State Papers Foreign.</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , London, 1885- .
Gray's Inn	J. Foster, <i>The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889</i> , London, 1889.
HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.
Inner Temple	W.H. Cooke, <i>Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660</i> , London, 1878.
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.
Leiden	<i>Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduni-Batavae, 1575-1875</i> , The Hague, 1875.
Lincoln's Inn	<i>The Records of ... Lincoln's Inn.</i>
Middle Temple	M.A.C. Sturgess (ed.), <i>Register of Admissions to the Middle Temple</i> , 3 vols., London, 1949.
NNBW	<i>Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek</i> , eds. P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen, 10 vols., Leiden, 1911-37.
Oxford	J. Foster, <i>Alumni Oxonienses</i> , Oxford, 1888-92.
Peerage	<i>The Complete Peerage</i> , G.E. Cokayne (ed.), 13 vols, London, 1910-59.
RGP	Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicaties.
Teg. St.	<i>Tegenwoordige Staat der vereenigde Nederlanden</i> , 23 vols, Amsterdam, 1739-1803.
UBA	University Library, Amsterdam.
UBL	University Library, Leiden.
Utrecht	<i>Album Studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectino</i> MDCXXXVI-MCCCLXXXVI, Utrecht, 1886.
WHG	Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht, Utrecht 1863- .

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Apart from studies referred to in the notes, the second part of the bibliography contains books which have proved particularly helpful in the course of this study. Library catalogues, encyclopaedias, bibliographies and other general works of reference have only occasionally been included.

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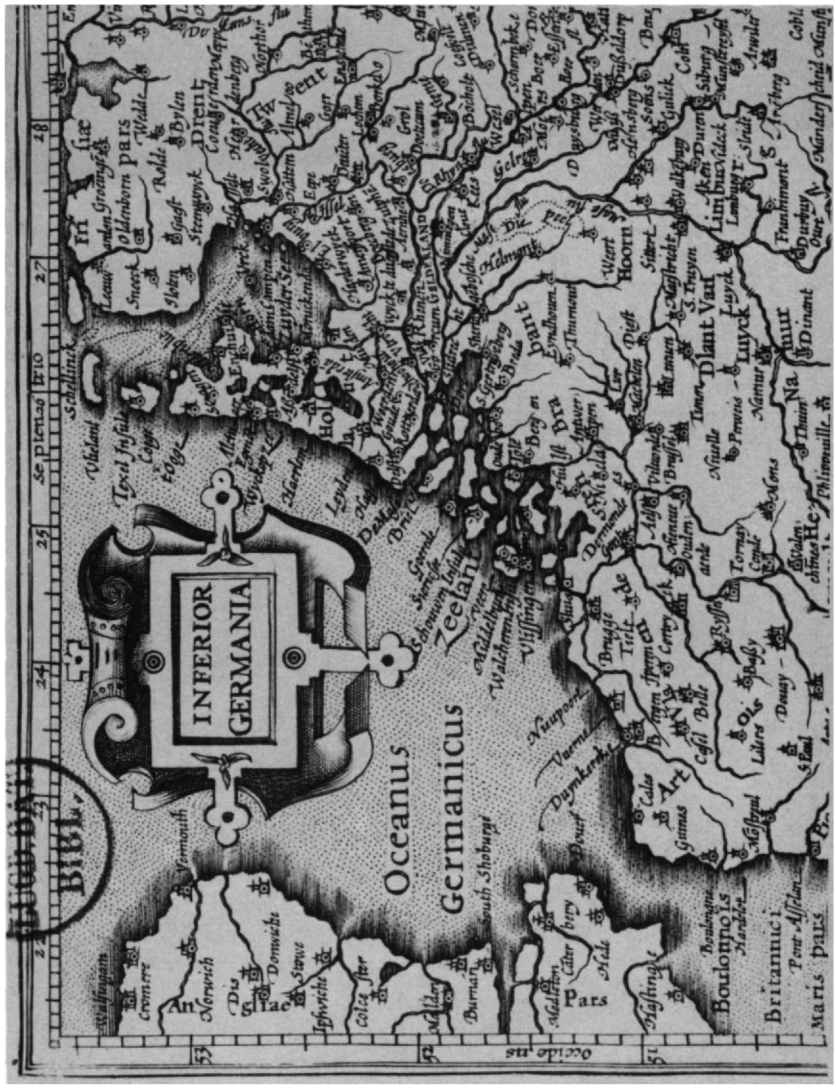
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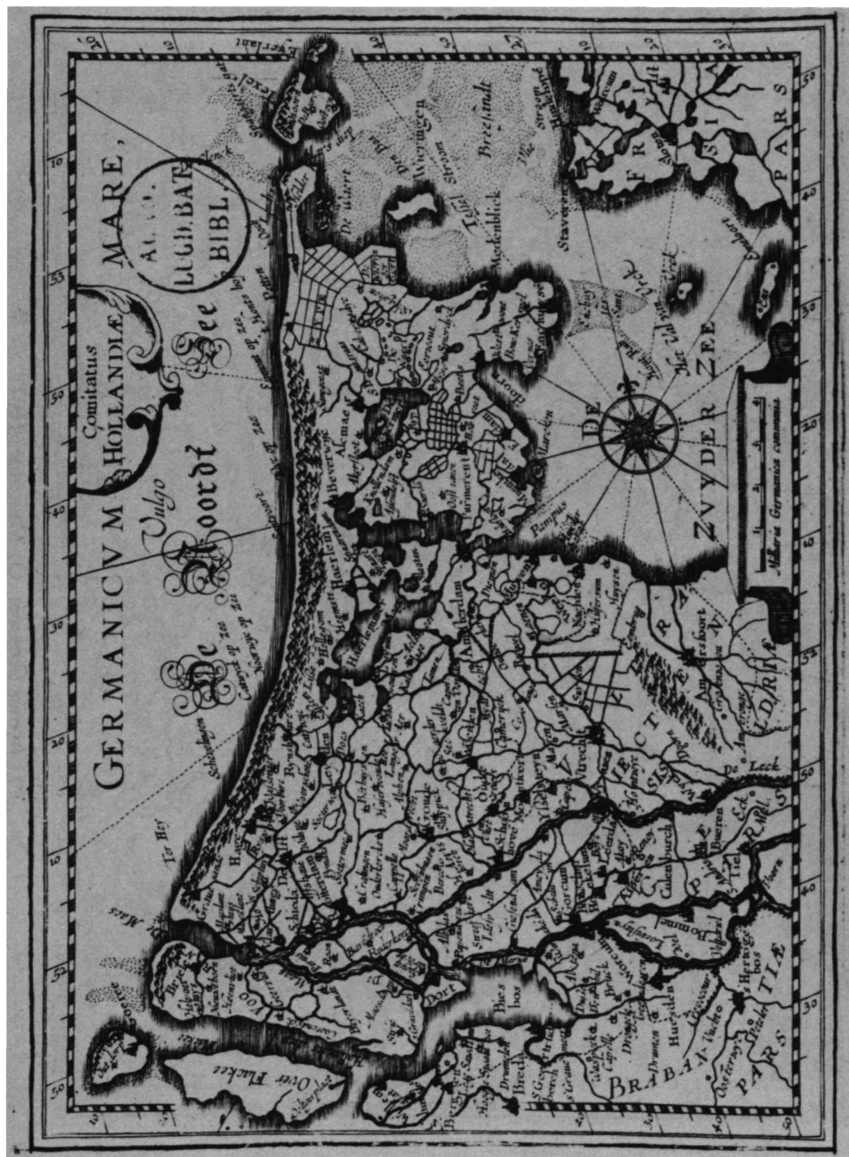
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ILLUSTRATIONS I – XIV



1. Inferior Germania, G. Mercator, 1607.

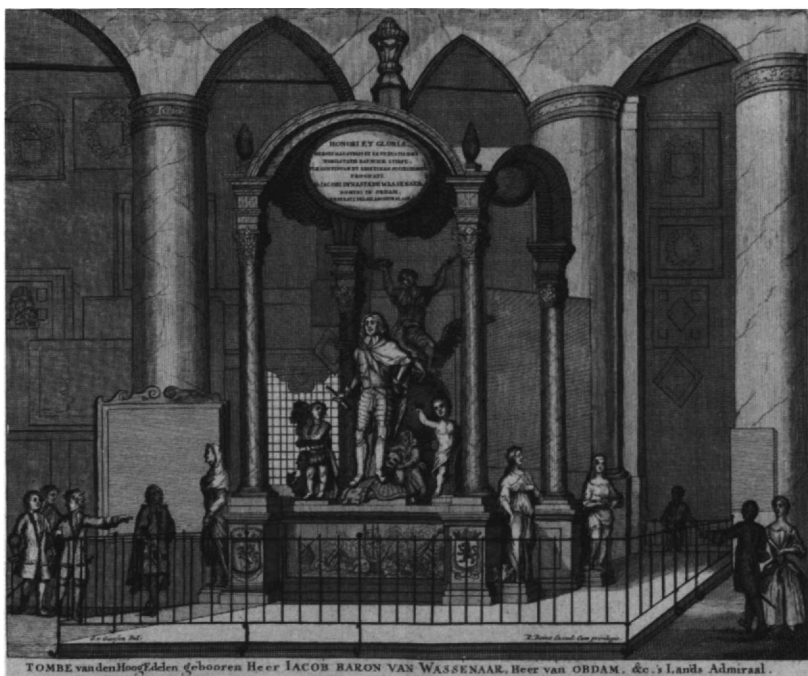


2. *Comitatus Hollandiae*, P. Verbist, 1636.

A Table shewing the Number of Leagues between the most remarkable Cities of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands.

Amsterdam		The Difference of Miles in the several Countries of Europe.	
30	Antwerp	The Circumference of the Globe of the Earth is reckoned at 360 Degrees.	
9	Amersfoort	A Degree is	
18	Arnhem	15 Common German Miles.	30 Small ditto.
65	Atrecht, Arras	12 Ditto large.	20 English Leagues.
48	Bergen, Henegouvo	10 Hungarian.	60 English Miles.
25	Bergen op Zoom	10 Swiss.	80 Scotch.
38	Brussels	60 Italian.	48 Irish.
48	Bruges	17 Spanish.	20 Polish.
20	Breda	20 Dutch hours.	12 Danish.
20	Campan	20 Large French.	12 Swedish.
22	Deventer	24 Common ditto.	80 Muscovitish Wersts or Miles.
20	Dort	Example of the use of the Table.	
15	Dordrecht		
52	Turnay	The Hours between any two Cities stand in the Angle under those two Cities perpendicularly and laterally taken.	
40	Ghent		
44	Groningen	Amsterdam	
14	Gorcum		
10	Gouda	The Hours between any two Cities stand in the Angle under those two Cities perpendicularly and laterally taken.	
11	The Hague		
20	Bolduke	Amsterdam	
38	Louvain		
44	Leeuwarden	Amsterdam	
8	Leyden		
47	Limburg	Amsterdam	
75	Luxemburg		
40	Maastricht	Amsterdam	
34	Mechlin		
32	Middelburg	Amsterdam	
51	Namur		
20	Nimwegen	Amsterdam	
52	Ostend		
20	Ruremond	Amsterdam	
14	Rotterdam		
52	Lisse	Amsterdam	
55	Valenciennes		
32	Venlo	Amsterdam	
8	Utrecht		
53	Utrecht	Amsterdam	
21	Zutphen		
22	Zwoll	Amsterdam	

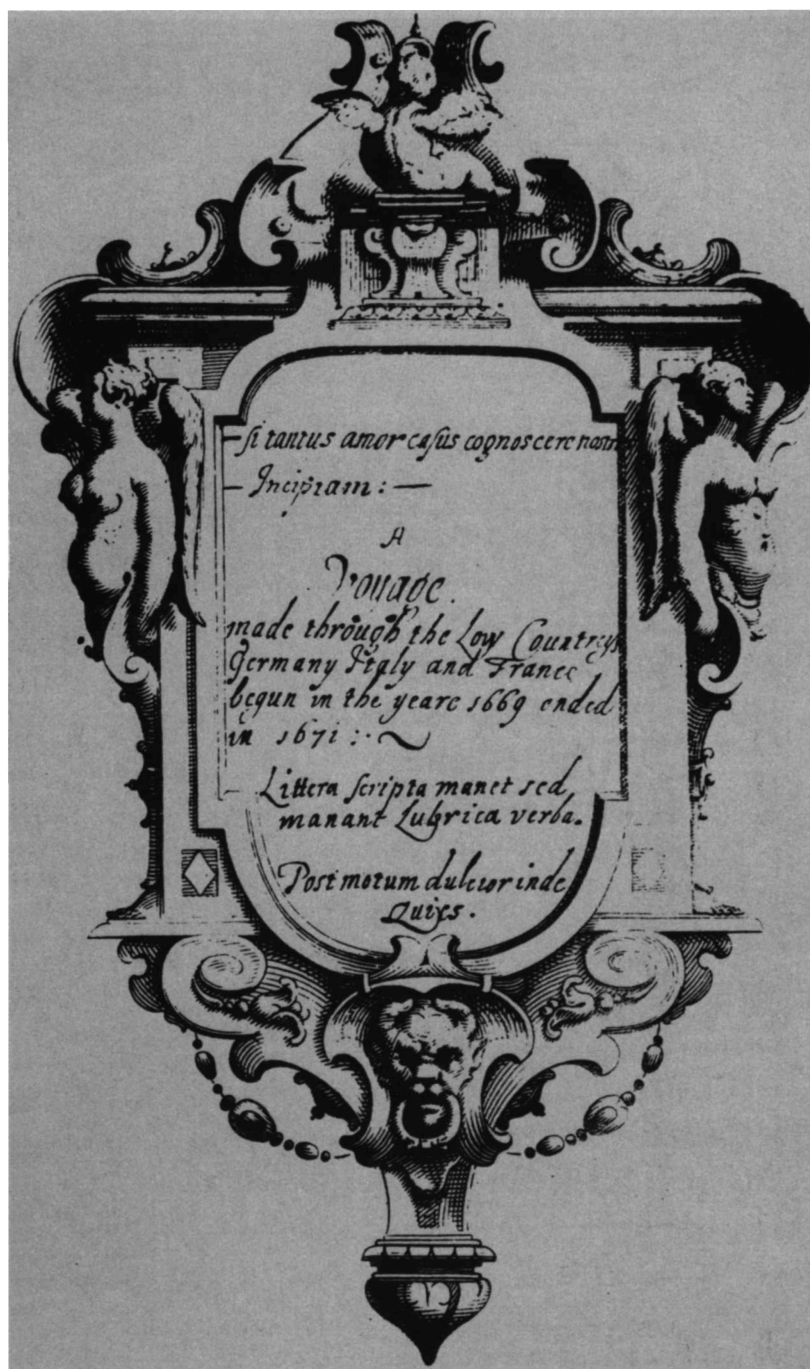
3. Table of distances from W. Carr, *Travels through Flanders, 1744.*



4. Memorial of Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam in the Great church at The Hague.



5. Miraculous birth at Loosduinen.



7. Title-page of Th. Style, "A voyage through the Low Countreys", 1669 – 71.

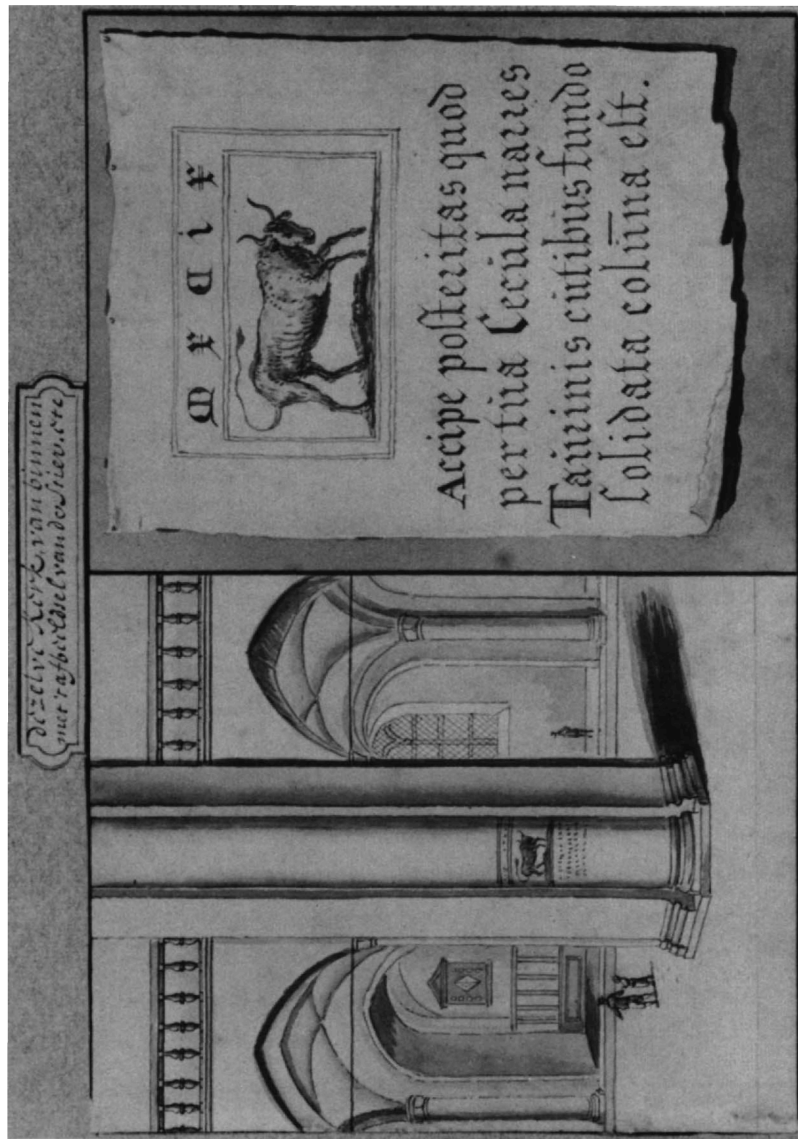
Iter Hollandicum.

A.D.
1678.

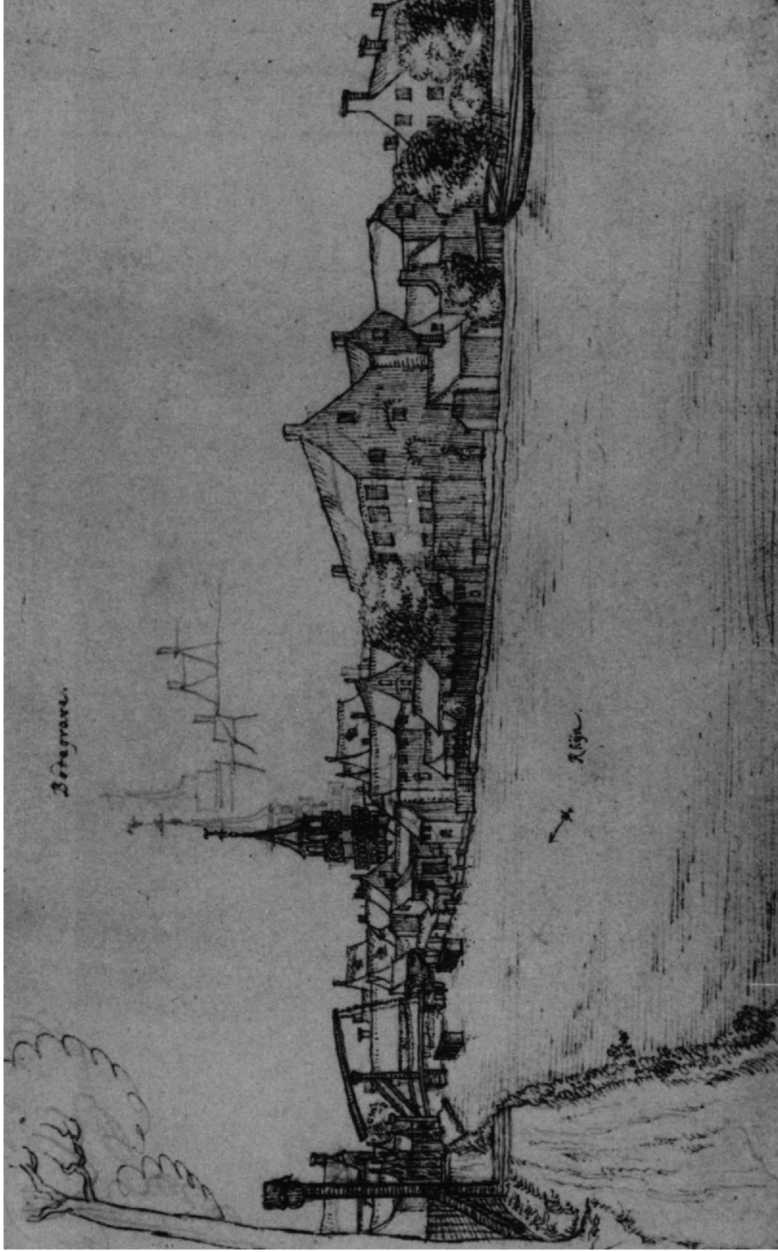
On Tuesday July the 16. A.D. 1678. Mr. David Hanisius, Library-keeper to the Duke of Brunswic. Wulfenbittel, and my self went on board the Mary (one of the Duke of York's yachts, Mr. Gunman Captain) about eight a'clock at night near Greenwich, in the retinue of the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Alesbury: by whom, and Mr. Oudart (His Mat's Latin Secretary) we were very civilly entertained, during our voyage, in the Latin tongue.

On Thursday following, we came in sight of Schouwen about four in the morning: and 12, being calmed, lay at anchor in y^e mouth of Mose near the Breel, a Town well fortified & pleasantly shaded with trees planted round the bulwarks; famous for the first originall of the Hollanders revolt from the Spaniards, which was begun here A.D. 1572. About 4 in the afternoon we loosed Anchor, and (passing by Zieedam and Delfshaven, two considerable villages) about 10 at night came up to the Key at Rotterdam: so that, being lockt out of the Town, we were glad to lodge that night also in the ship.

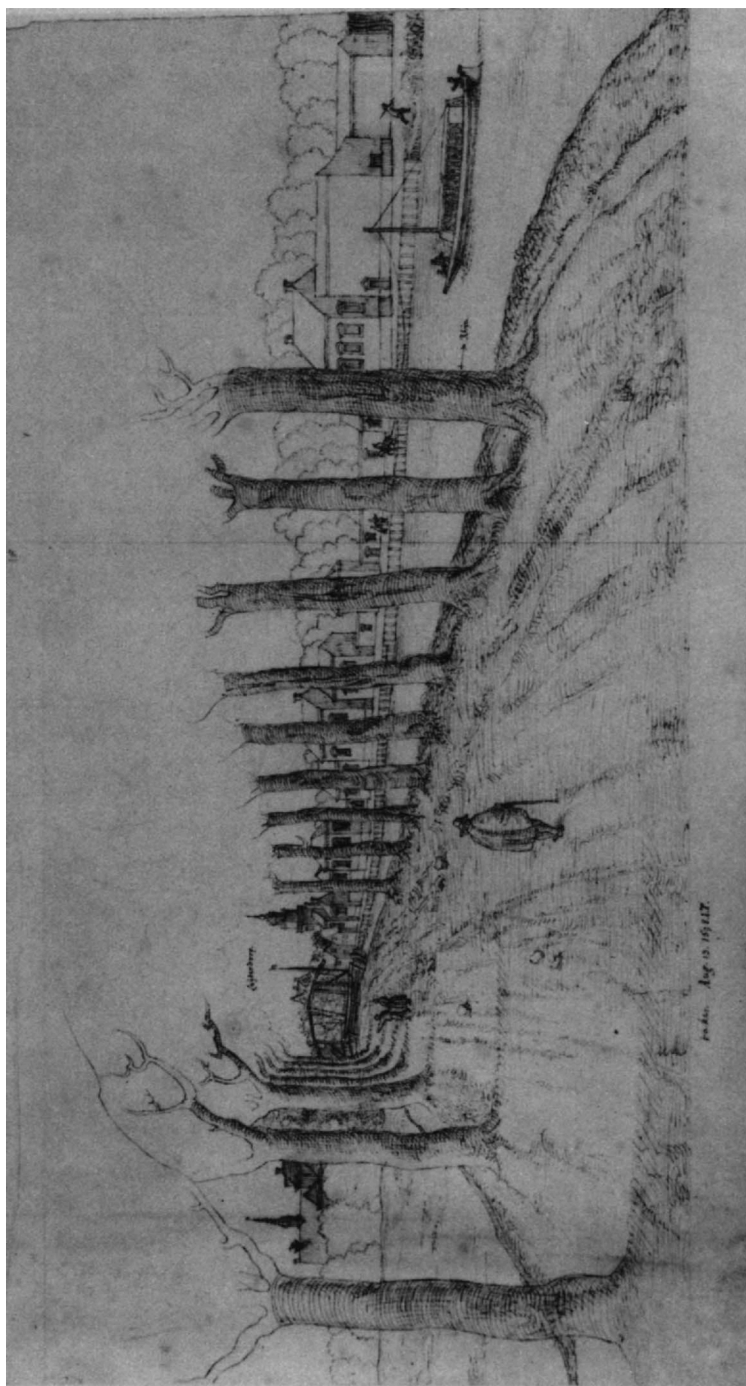
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9. St. Mary's church at Utrecht with bull, c. 1720.



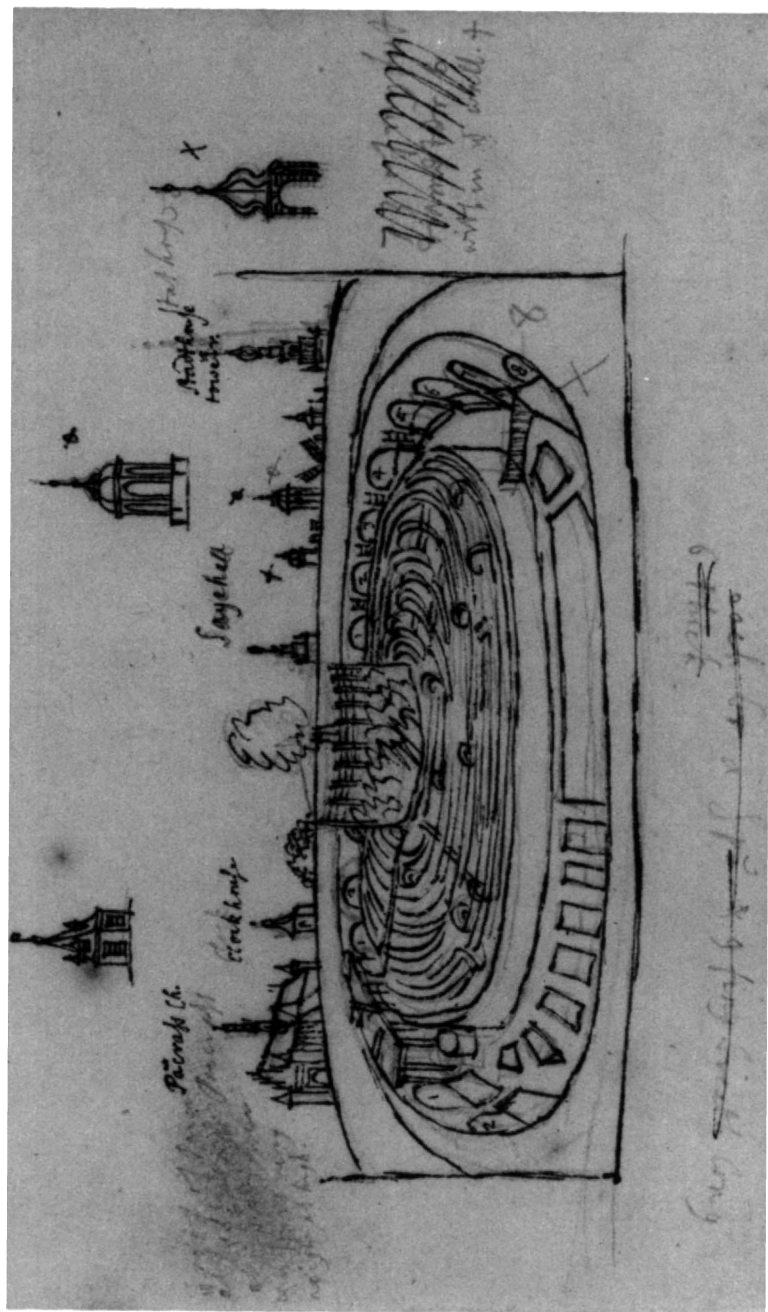
10. John Talman, View of Bodegraven.



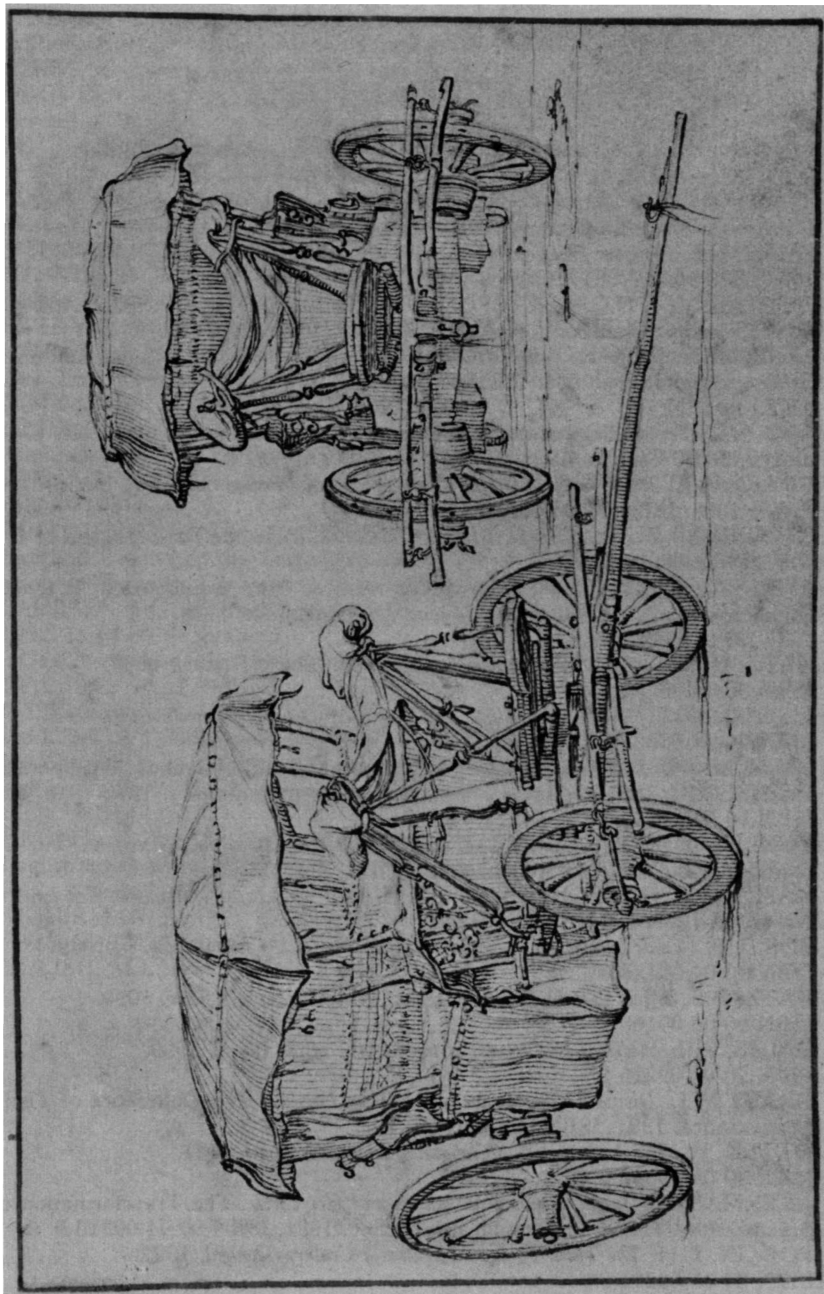
11. John Talman, View of Leiderdorp, 1698.



12. John Talman, View of Leiden



13. John Talman, View of the Burcht at Leiden.



14. Jan van de Velde II, Coach.